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THE LENOX GLOBE

THE Lenox Globe was found in Paris about twenty-five years ago by Mr. Richard M. Hunt, who presented it to Mr. James Lenox, the munificent founder of the institution which bears his name, the gift forming a graceful and appropriate recognition of the interest taken by Mr. Lenox in everything that relates to the history of America.

The Lenox Globe is the smallest of the ancient globes, being only about five inches in diameter, though this is half an inch more than the diameter of the prize globe of the Paris Exposition. The Lenox Globe is of copper and the workmanship is good, it being constructed in two sections, fitting together like a box, as in the case of the Vlpus Globe, the joint forming the Equatorial line. The degrees of latitude and longitude are not indicated, but on the sketch, of the size of the original, a scale is added. The date and the maker's name are both wanting, but there can, perhaps, be little doubt respecting its age, which, for various reasons, may be placed at the year 1510, or the beginning of 1511.

It will be observed that the eastern hemisphere occupies a disproportionate part of the longitudinal surface; yet on the other hand, many of the principal latitudes appear tolerably correct for the period in which the globe was made. The mountings of the globe are lost.

The date of 1510-11 has been assigned, for the reason, amongst others, that, while several of its representations are in advance of the published knowledge of 1508, they are behind that of 1511-12. Of course the simple fact that an instrument of this kind represents the condition of geographical knowledge at a certain period does not infallibly prove that it was produced at that particular period. Under peculiar circumstances, it would be possible for an instrument like this to possess many of the marks which indicate an early origin, simply through the failure of the projector to incorporate the results of the latest explorations, concerning which he might have been ignorant; but this suggestion, in

order to have any weight in the present case, should be supported by some proof of such ignorance. Respecting the points on which the globe gives no light, information was, nevertheless, so wide-spread in 1511 as to render it difficult to believe that any globe or map maker of the period could have failed to know of its existence. It is true that old maps often occur in new books. This was the case with many of the early geographical works; but in every such instance it is easy to show that the map is not in accordance with the text, and that the map was introduced by the publisher in lieu of something better. No such suggestion will apply to the Lenox Globe.

The date of this globe being deduced mainly from its representations of America, let us give a brief *resumé* of the condition of geographical knowledge respecting the New World for several years subsequent to 1510.

In the year 1500, Juan de la Cosa, the Pilot of Columbus, drew a map of the New World, but North America does not appear, Newfoundland being represented as a part of Asia. In 1508, on the map of John Ruysch, Newfoundland also appears as a part of Asia, being marked "Terra Nova." On the Lenox Globe, however, Newfoundland appears as an island, though without any name, and at the same time no part of continental North America is laid down. In Peter Martyr's work (*Legatio Babylonica*) of the following year, Florida appears as "Beimeni," while Stobnicza's map in the Ptolemy of 1512, gives a rough view of North America, similar to that found in the Ptolemy of 1513. The very early map attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (*Archeologia*, Vol. XL) shows "Florida" as an island, but since the map was not published no inference can be drawn from it. The maps of 1511, 1512 and 1513 nevertheless must have been known to every intelligent person engaged in globe making, and if the Lenox Globe had been made during those years, or later, it would have reflected information published to the world. This globe, therefore, takes its place in the year 1510, or the beginning of 1511. After passing this year, and reaching 1520, the newly found lands are so well known as to be celebrated in an English poem, entitled the "Four Elements."¹ The argument is indeed negative, but nevertheless it may be accepted as relevant.

What has been said thus far applies only to North America, but, upon turning to South America, the representation has the appearance of belonging to a period later than 1511. In fact, the entire continent is laid down, though apart from the Lenox Globe, no analogous representation is found before that of Schöner, 1520. This circumstance might,

therefore, lead some to conclude that the globe originated at a late period. If, however, it were to be argued that the Lenox Globe belongs to a period subsequent to Schöner, it might be necessary to assign its date to the sixteenth century. Le Maire and Schouten did not explore that region until 1615. But this question is one that may be embarrassed, for it will not prove a difficult task to show how the globe-maker may have obtained, in 1610, the knowledge which he exhibits.

In order to present the subject with clearness, it will be useful to state first, that Cosa's maps of 1500 exhibited the northern coast of South America, together with the eastern coast down to about 25° S. The map of Ruysch, 1508, also showed the eastern coast, but only down to 38° S.; while Sylvanus, in the Ptolemy of 1511, stopped at 35° S.; Stobnicza, 1512, at 40° S.; the Ptolemy of 1513 at 39° S.; and the Margarita Philosophica of Gregory Ruysch, 1516, at 49° S. Nevertheless the Lenox Globe gives all of South America, the drawing alone rendering it probable that the draughtsman was not unacquainted with the configuration of Terra del Fuego. How, then, could the globe-maker have known that South America terminated in such a form near latitude 55° S.? How, in fact, could he have known that it terminated at all, especially since sketches later than 1515, with one or two unimportant exceptions, represented Terra del Fuego as joined to a great continent, supposed to cover the entire region around the south pole?

On this point it may be observed that such a termination to South America was doubtless rendered probable by the argument from analogy. The ordinary observer must have perceived that the great bodies of land on the globe terminated towards the south in points. Good reasons also exist for believing that Africa was accepted as the type of South America. But it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that the termination of South America was known in 1510, even though its circumnavigation had not been accomplished. In 1508 it was recorded by Ruysch, that navigators had reached 50° S. On his map is found a Latin legend, translated as follows: "Portuguese mariners discovered this part of this territory, and proceeded as high as the fiftieth degree of South latitude, but without reaching its southern extremity." Humboldt (*Examen Critique*, II. 7) calls attention to the fact that in the fourteenth chapter of the work, in which the map of Ruysch appears, there is a separate statement, to the effect that the Portuguese had surveyed the coast of South America as far as 37° S., and that it was known as far as 50° S. by report. Thus in 1508 there existed at Rome a general understanding of the coast to within about two degrees

of the entrance to the Straits of Magellan. With such facts before him, Humboldt came to the conclusion that between the years 1500 and 1508 a succession of attempts were made by the Portuguese along the coast of South America, beginning at Porto Seguro in latitude 16° S. Vespucci is even credited with having gone to 52° S. Still the student is not justified, with such data, in declaring precisely how far the navigators knew the region by actual observation. The inference is that the navigators who passed along that region viewed the strait afterwards discovered by Magellan as an inlet, and that they learned from the natives the configuration of Terra del Fuego. Such information has been given to navigators in every part of the world. Cartier in Canada knew of the great lakes from the aborigines. The Indians also drew rough sketches for Champlain in New England. The Hudson's Bay Company possess at their House important sketches made by the Indians; while Balboa, called the "Discoverer" of the Pacific, had the Pacific discovered for him by the Cacique of Zumaco, who, upon the arrival of the Spaniard in the Bay of Panama, figured for him the coasts of Quito, and described the riches of Peru. (*Examen Critique* II. 13.) Columbus on his fourth voyage learned of the existence of water beyond Darien. (Select Letters, p. 175.) Parry and Ross had the coast lines of their charts extended for them by the Esquimaux. This was all that the Spanish and Portuguese navigators needed to have done for them by the natives of Terra del Fuego.

Sometimes the information thus derived was of great value, and it would appear that the maker of the Lenox Globe had received information of this kind. The principle in accordance with which the age of this globe is to be deduced is now therefore quite clear. The absence of any allusion to the continent of North America would seem conclusive. Perhaps it is not too much to believe that this globe has some connection with the Third Voyage of Vespucci, which brought him to the latitude of the Straits of Magellan. Peter Martyr, writing to the Pope in 1514, seems to have a definite view of the shape of South America quite in advance of published maps. Being "secretly together in a chamber" with the Bishop of Burgos, Martyr says that they examined many sea charts, one of which Vespucci "was said to have set his hand," while another had been influenced by both Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus. Speaking of South America, he says it "reaches forth into the sea even as Italy doth, although not like the leg of a man, as it does." (Dec. II.) Thus in 1514 South America had been figured more or less as drawn upon the Lenox Globe.

Another interesting and important feature of the globe transports the student to the far East. The globe shows very distinctly a large island, without any name, lying in the Indian Ocean. To the northward of this island is another, called "Madagascar," though the true Madagascar is laid down in its proper place without any name. Northward of the supposed Madagascar is an island called "Certina." Since, however, this part of the Indian Ocean contains no such vast island, and since Australia does not appear in its proper place, it may be allowable to suggest, though we do so with extreme diffidence, that Australia is represented by the great island in question, which was misplaced; while the so-called "Madagascar" and "Certina" are simply Sumatra and Java. Three other islands without names correspond to Sumbawa, Floris and Timor.

The uncertainty of the globe-maker respecting Madagascar may be explained by the fact, that it was not until 1508 that D'Acugna made his exploration of the island, though it was known to Marco Polo. This excuse, however, cannot be offered for those who later represented Zanzibar as a great island out in the ocean.

The globe at Frankfort, which belongs to the period of Schöner, 1520, has an island similar in form and situation to the nameless island of the Lenox Globe, but in a reversed position, and called Madagascar. In Bordone's *Isolaria* (fols. 28-9 and 70, ed. 1528) Zanzibar is thus represented.

In support of the suggestion that the "Madagascar" and "Certina" of the globe are simply Sumatra and Java misplaced, we may cite the fact that the well-known islands of Sumatra and Java do not appear in their places, while the Malayan peninsula, called upon the globe "Loac," is extended so far south as to confuse the geography of the whole region. Acting, however, in accordance with the suggestion offered, it would prove an easy task to bring order out of the confusion. This may be done by moving the great nameless island into the position occupied by Australia on the modern maps, carrying with it "Certina," the so-called "Madagascar," and the three islands without name. When this is done, the student will have before him a tolerable indication of the geography of that region. Borneo and Celebes (called "Java Minor" by Ramusio), having their proper place, New Guiana, without any name, also appearing. In accordance with this view, it would be necessary to conclude that, though misplaced upon the Lenox Globe, Australia was known to the geographers of that early period.

It is true that one of the first references to the southern coast of Australia in the seventeenth century was that of 1627, when a Dutch

ship sailed along the shore for a distance of a thousand miles, while one of the earliest maps of that century which showed the outlines of Australia was the Montanus map, 1572. Nevertheless it is probable that Australia was known centuries before, when the Chinese, with the mariners' compass, navigated those seas. From Lelewel's sketch of map of Edrezi it is evident that the region including Java was perfectly well known in 1154. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo traveled with a map of the world in his hand, by the aid of which he appears to have described Madagascar. At that period the great island of Australia, lying close to well-known islands, could hardly have remained unknown to geographers. It would appear that the "Java Minor" of Marco, a term applied by him to Sumatra, came eventually to include the entire region. That this was so appears from the fact that names belonging to Java and the neighboring islands are given on maps of a later period. The Globe of Vlpus illustrates this phase of the question, Java Minor appearing as a very large island, and the true Java not being laid down at all. Four maps with similar characteristics, belonging to same period, are discussed by Mr. Major in the Hakluyt Society's work on Australia, and the matter is also touched upon in his "Prince Henry" (p. 441). Some of the geographers endeavored to set off Java, reduced to proper proportions, Schöner, 1520, being amongst the number; but in the attempt Australia in some cases disappeared altogether. On the Lenox Globe, nevertheless, Java appears to have the name of "Certina." Perhaps, therefore, the Lenox Globe may be regarded as showing one of the earliest attempts to correct a misunderstanding.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the great nameless island, with its attendant islands, is placed westward instead of south-east of the Malayan peninsula; but Sylvanus, in his Ptolemy of 1511, moves the whole group into its proper position to the southeast, thus giving a somewhat correct view of the geography of that region. Still the delineation of Sylvanus does not appear to have been understood. In fact he made too long and too sudden a stride towards the truth to be followed, though Lelewel, while severely criticising his work, admits that some of his delineations were not equalled for many years after. The Lenox Globe and the Ptolemy of Sylvanus would therefore seem to explain one another. At the same time the maker of the globe, in common with Sylvanus, in forming the outline of what we venture to offer as Australia, appear to have made a certain use of those outlines characteristic of the "Java Major" of Fra Mauro and Behaim, which lay on the east coast of Asia. The maker of the Lenox Globe

may have misunderstood his instructions, and thus pushed Australia into the Indian Ocean. The attention of the designer of the globe may have been directed to the subject by the voyage of Gonnville, who sailed from Honfleur in June, 1503, for the East, and fell upon a great country, not far from the direct route to the Indies, which they called "Southern India." The subject, however, is treated here in the way of suggestion.

Thus far nothing has been said of the general appearance of the globe, though, if it were necessary, many details could be pointed out which indicate its ancient origin. Amongst these might be mentioned the peculiar configuration of the Asiatic coasts, the style of the lettering, the drawing of the ships, and the aspect of the marine monsters. Beyond Newfoundland is a sinking ship, with the figure of a human being in the water, possibly an allusion to the loss of the Portuguese Cortereal.

South of Africa is a grotesque monster, intended for a whale, the creature being delineated with much care. Many curious notions prevailed respecting the denizens of the deep. Hence Arngrim Jonas, in his defence of Iceland (Hakluyt I. 568), believes it necessary to refute what Sebastian Munster said in his *Cosmography*, to the effect that "it sometimes falleth out that Mariners, thinking the Whales to be Islands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning." It would appear as though Milton found his own "*Leviathan*" on the page of Hakluyt, in whose works he had read the treatise signed "Arngrimus Ionus."

This leads to the remark that the author of "*Paradise Lost*" appears no stranger to the old globes and maps, which, in his earlier days as a traveler, he was accustomed to consult. His eye, however, could not have fallen upon the globe which we are discussing, since in that case he might have been deterred from writing of the two polar winds, which

"blowing adverse

Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice that stop *the imagined way*
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast ;"

for the imagined way is a clear open sea upon our globe. The globes he looked upon embraced the coast

"Of Norumbega, and the Sameod shore,"

including

"—— cold Estotiland, and south as far
Beneath Magellan ;"

and again, all those central regions where of late "Columbus found the American," girt

" With feather'd cincture, naked else, and wild,
Among the trees on isles and woody shores."

When, however, the maker of the Lenox Globe looked away toward the region now occupied by North America, he saw only a watery waste, in the midst of which the island of "Bacaleos" or Newfoundland, rode like some ship at anchor. He may have heard of the Vinland of the Northmen, but the story of the Cabots had already been locked up in depositories where it was destined to lie too long; while Martyr's map of "Beimeni," or Florida, together with the publications of 1512, 1513, 1515, had not come from the press.

Some of the names appear to have been copied from Ruysch's Map. The word "Getulia" and "Zamor" point to the influence of the Goths and Moors in Africa, while "Paludes Nile" show that, in common with the geographers of that period, the globe-maker had anticipated the discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley. Some of the names are misspelled; among them, Libia Interioir.

In Asia the Himalayan range, anciently known as "Imaus," had its influence upon the globe-maker's geography, who indicates "Schite extraianivm" for "Scythia extra Imaum." He also puts "Sinarum Situs" on the border of the Gulf of the Ganges, where "Sinarum Situs" is put by Ruysch, "Sinarum," like "Serica," or silk, being a name applied to China, which on the globe is called East India. In this region, near the equatorial line, is seen "Hc Svnt Dracones," or here are the Dagroians, described by Marco Polo as living in the Kingdom of "Dagroian." These people, as once charged against the Irish, feasted upon the dead and picked their bones. (B. II. c. 14, Ramusio's ed.) "Loac" is the "Locac" of Marco Polo (B. III. c. 8; Yule II. 258), and "Seilan" is the Borneo of our day, the former name having been taken from its proper place near India to make room for "Taprobana," which was often applied to Sumatra. In Northern India is "Sachavvm Regno," the sugar region described in the Ptolemy of Patavino (1596, p. 262). Near Persia is "Carmenis," the "Kermann" of Marco Polo, who does not refer to the neighboring "Calicut," or Calcutta. (B. I. c. 18.)

"Moabio" appears to be the "Maabar" of Marco Polo (III. 16), who says that in all this Province "there is never a Tailor to cut a coat or stitch it," for the very good reason that "every body goes naked." The globe-maker, however, should have placed the province where Polo

and the Nancy Globe place it, on the Coromandel coast. "Carene" appears to be the ancient home of the Mongols mentioned by Marco Polo (I. 18). Yule (I. 102) has a note on these people, some of whom went to Persia.

Turning to America once more, it is found that Japan is called "Zi-pangri," being close to Yucatan, whose well-known bay, first explored in 1518, has a conjectual coast line trending towards the south instead of the west. Cuba, on the other hand, is correctly laid down as an island, being called "Isabel," in honor of Queen Isabella. The names on South America are few. That country is called "TERRA SANCTO CRVCIS," as upon the map of Ruysch, and "MVNDVS NOVVS," a name given by Sandacourt, a Canon of St. Dié, when he framed the title of the Latin version of Vespucci's letter, which described Brasil. But a new name is added, "TERRA DE BRAZIL." The history of this name, however, is not quite so clear as the others, though Navarrete (III. 9) calls attention to Muratori's notice of the fact that "brazil," signifying a red dye-wood, was an exciseable article at Ferrara and Modena in 1193 and 1306. He also quotes from Capmany's "Memorias sobra la antiqua marina, commercio, y artes de Barcelona," which contains references to this wood connected with the years 1221, 1243, 1252 and 1271. Navarrete takes the ground that Covarrubias (Tesoro de la leng. art. brazil) is in error where he says that the name, as applied to this wood, was drawn from America. Brazil appears on a map of the fifteenth century, but the Catalan map of 1375 also shows an island in the Atlantic bearing the name.² Marco Polo (B. III. c. 22) mentions Brazil wood (Yule II. p. 368), and Chaucer says:

"Him needeth not his colour for to deen
With Brazil, ne with grain of Portingale."

It is reasonable, however, to conclude that the name was applied to South America, because the first navigator found there an abundance of desirable dye-wood. Hence, on the Verrazano map, 1529, is also found a similar name, "Verzino."

The name of "America" does not appear upon the globe, which fact, so far as it possesses any significance, favors the belief that the early date assigned to the instrument is correct. The name of America was first proposed in 1507 by Martin Waldseemuller, known under the Greek pseudonym of "Hylacomilus." It appears in his "Cosmographiæ Introductio," where, having called attention to the fact that the old continents were named after women, he observes that the new one

should be called after a man. In the work entitled "*Globus Mundus*," printed at Strasburg, 1509, the suggestion occurs again, *Hylacomilas*, evidently repeating himself. (*Archeologia*, 40, 1. 25.) The name occurs in Schöner's "*Luculentissima*," etc., 1515, but the idea that it was generally used is a mistake. (Santarem's "*Vespucci*," Boston, 1850, p. 155.) The name was first published on a map made by Appianus, 1520, in the work of Camers, but the Ptolemy of 1513, in a legend on the map made by *Hylacomilus* himself, attributes the discovery of the new world to Columbus. This has been alluded to as very curious, though the course pursued by *Hylacomilus* was altogether consistent. The really curious thing remains to be stated, and for the special consideration of those writers who have had so much to say about the ingratitude shown to Columbus by early geographers. The point is this, that though Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, lived until 1539, and for many years was the owner and diligent reader of the "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," which he annotated and rebound, he is not known to have written or spoken a syllable, or to have caused any one else to write so much as a word, expressive of any sense of injustice done to his father by the naming of the New World after Vespucci. Harris, in his *Life of Ferdinand Colomb* (p. 143), also calls attention to the fact that the partizan *Life of the Admiral*, which has been attributed to his son, while exceedingly severe upon those who detracted from the fame of Columbus, does not mention either *Hylacomilus* or his book. It would appear, therefore, that the indignation referred to is, upon the whole, a modern thing, of which the immediate friends of the famous Genoese had no experience.

Hylacomilus, while admitting the priority of the voyage of Columbus, felt no necessity for naming the New World after one who, in the most pronounced manner, declared that there was no New World to be named. *Hylacomilus* was entirely friendly to Columbus, as was the case with Vespucci in his relations to the Genoese; nevertheless the geographer of St. Dié named the New World after the Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci. It is probable that he had resolved upon this course before Columbus died, while there is nothing whatever to indicate that Vespucci took any action to secure the honor awarded to him, or even that, any more than Columbus, he was solicitous upon the subject. His claims were not understood to conflict with those of Columbus. The *Lenox Globe* appears to have been made at a time when geographers regarded the matter with unconcern, as neither Columbus nor Vespucci have any honor awarded.

In closing, the following may be suggested as legitimate results of the discussion:

First. The Lenox Globe is the oldest Post-Columbian globe now known to geographers.

Second. It is the oldest Post-Columbian Globe that shows any portion of the New World.¹

Third. It is the oldest instrument of any kind showing the entire Continent of South America.

Fourth. It is the oldest instrument showing that the discoveries of Columbus formed no part of the Asiatic Continent, and that America was absolutely "Mvndvs Novvs," or the New World.²

B. F. DE COSTA

¹ Collier's "Annals of the British Stage" (II. 310), in which the following lines:

"This See is called the great Occyan;
So great it is, that never man
Coude tell it seth the worlde began,
Till now within this xx yere
Westwarde be founde new landes,
That we never harde tell of before this."

And again:

"But this newe lands founde lately,
Ben callyd America, by cause only
Americus dyd furst them fynde."

² Lelewel's Atlas. See views that have been entertained in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1866, No. XLIV, p. 26, and 1867, No. XLVII, p. 7.

³ Humboldt maintains that Vespucci, equally with Columbus, believed that the land discovered formed a part of Asia. He says that three times in his second voyage Vespucci calls the country "terra del Asia," but in the third voyage calls it "un' altro mondo" and "Mondo nuovo." To break the force of this, Humboldt refers to the fact that Cadamosto calls the west coast of Africa "Altro mondo." This, however, he confesses is a mere adaptation of the old classic use, the *alter orbis* of Pomponius, Mela and Strabo. He then shifts the argument, and shows that Peter Martyr in 1493-4, while speaking of the "novis orbis," did not recognize its separation from Asia, and that this use was long continued. He forgets, however, that Martyr describes South America as land never known by the ancients. (Examen Critique V. 182). For Humboldt's vindication of Vespucci against Schöner (Nuremberg, 1532), see Cosmos II. 676.

⁴ The author does not admit that the regions beyond the Atlantic were never reflected on a pre-Columbian globe.

⁵ The Viscount Santarem (Researches respecting Vespucci, p. 154) has taken the ground, as well as some others, that the map of Hylocomilus, in the Ptolemy of 1513, was the work of Columbus. This map shows the separation of America from Asia, but we believe that the Lenox Globe is earlier. The separation, however, on the map in question proves that it could not have been the work of Columbus, as it has been shown repeatedly that Columbus died in the belief

that there was no separation. The Genoese, at the end of Cuba, on his second voyage, required his companions to declare on oath that Cuba was not an island, the person maintaining the contrary being liable to a fine of ten thousand maravedis, and to have his tongue cut out. (Navarrete II. 145.) Pinzon on the first voyage "understood Cuba to be a city, and that the land here was a continent of great size, which extended far to the north" (First Voyage of Columbus, Boston, 1827, p. 68). The map of 1513 would seem rather to reflect the ideas of Pinzon, as it extends to 55° N. It has invariably been used by map-makers to represent the coast of North America, whatever may have been its *origin*.



THE LENOX GLOBE

THE OLD STONE MILL AT NEWPORT

CONSTRUCTION VERSUS THEORY

"The stones have voices and the walls do live"

The student of history, the architect and the engineer have alike endeavored to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the "Old Stone Mill" at Newport, to establish the date of its erection and the purpose for which it was designed. One attempts to prove with many ingenious argument that this gray and time-worn tower—a perfect specimen of early Norman architecture—is a ruined Baptistery, which owes its origin to the roving followers of Lief Erickson; another holds that it was erected in the latter part of the seventeenth century by English colonists for the utilitarian purpose of grinding Indian corn. The latest contribution to "Old Mill" literature is from the pen of the late Mr. R. G. Hatfield, President of the New York Chapter, American Institute of Architects. In an able paper, published in the March number of Scribner's Magazine [1879], he takes the ground that the "Old Mill" was erected in the early part of the eleventh century by Northmen, the founders of the Vinland colony. His argument is supported by an interesting account of the wanderings of the Vikings, with illustrations of religious edifices erected by them in various parts of Europe, and a section of the "Old Mill" restored, based upon the Baptistery of Asti.

To these records of history no one can take exception, for they are too well authenticated to admit of doubt. The Northmen were Christians, and roamed the world over, leaving behind them castles, monasteries, churches and baptisteries, with well-defined architectural details. Their edifices, as Mr. Hatfield remarks, are in all cases similar in proportion and construction to the "Old Mill" at Newport, and at first glance it seems highly probable that the dates and builders were the same. There are, however, details in the construction of the "Old Mill" which seem to have escaped the attention of all who have measured it and have written upon the subject. These points I shall endeavor to make clear by the accompanying illustrations, which have been prepared upon the ground from measurements carefully taken and verified. The sketches show the form and position of every prominent stone, and are drawn to scales for comparison. So far as I am aware no such complete survey has yet been published. To the measured

drawings are added sketches of the Leamington or Chesterton mill, and several buildings of colonial date, presenting analogous construction. This survey was made in October, 1878, and was commenced with a firm belief in the old and pleasant traditions so delightfully presented to us by Mr. Hatfield. But, with all an architect's veneration for the works of his predecessors, and a natural desire to assign to the monuments of our country their greatest possible antiquity, I have found myself confronted with constructive features, which point to the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the time when the structure was built, and to Governor Benedict Arnold as the designer as well as owner of the "Old Stone Mill."

It is generally admitted by all who have investigated the subject that there are but two available dates; the colonization of Vinland and the English settlement on Aquidneck. All theories as to the edifice having once been a Norman Baptistry are based upon the supposition that changes have from time to time been made in its interior. It is the object of this paper to show that it would have been difficult to effect such changes, even if they were not practically out of the question. Professor Rafn, after assigning the eleventh century as the date of erection, adds: "That this building could not have been erected for a windmill, is what an architect will easily discern." That he still had doubts upon the subject is however manifest, for in a letter, dated January 6th, 1849, he writes: "It is difficult, however, without being on the spot to offer any decided opinion as to the period to which the structure itself is to be referred, nor has any one here ventured to do so. Here in the North no windmills occur of this construction, and a gentleman, distinguished for his knowledge in the progressive history of the arts, and who has traveled much in Europe, has declared *that he never met with any such.*"

The alterations generally in question are the fireplace and the windows. These are claimed as late additions, made by English colonists to fit the ancient edifice for their own uses. The first floor over the arches has also been claimed as an addition, but I have never seen any allusion to a *second floor and staircase*, of which there are undeniable evidences. These statements I will now attempt to verify.

Was the fireplace introduced into the Norman Baptistry by English colonists? The fireplace is directly over one of the piers, and its construction exhibits careful workmanship. The stones are laid up smoothly, and fit together closely, in marked contrast to the rest of the interior. The hearth—a flat slab of slate, six inches thick—is built in

under the splayed jambs several inches at each end ; the opening is finished with a segmental arch on the face, and has a flat roof, one foot above the crown of the arch. This roof is made of flat slate stones, laid vertically with the axis of the wall ; at each end is a flue five inches by eight inches, an unusual form of construction. The north flue runs up nearly vertical, while the other flue curves off easily to the south for some distance, and then turns up with an inclination still to the south. Both flues open out on the face of the wall about ten inches below the top, and they are each covered with a large stone, evidently to protect the wooden plate of the roof. The north flue shows no evidence of pargetting or plastering, but the south is still perfectly parged, the mortar being identical with that used in the construction of the piers. The curves are neatly rounded, and the flues are of a full and even area throughout. The wall around the fireplace is thicker than in other parts of the building, and gradually diminishes at the north of opening, where is situated the well-hole of stairs, to be described. In breaking out the old walls to insert a fireplace after the building had stood for centuries, it would have been impossible to adjust the back, jambs and roof with such nicety, and without showing jagged and broken stones. It would also have been impossible to have constructed the two flues, particularly the south one, or to have parged them with such care. And is it not more than probable that in making such a radical change the artificers would have been satisfied with *one* flue instead of two, particularly as the additional flue was of more than questionable advantage.

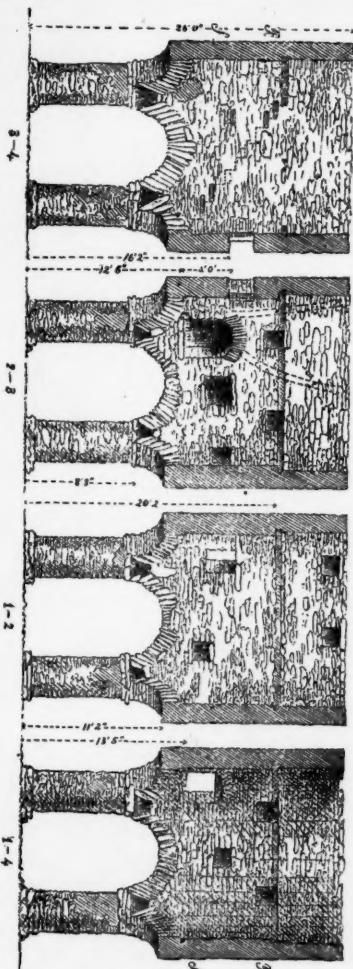
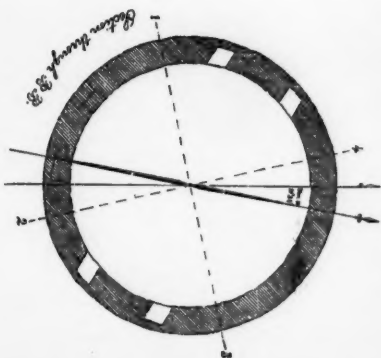
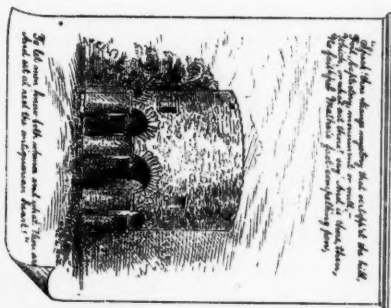
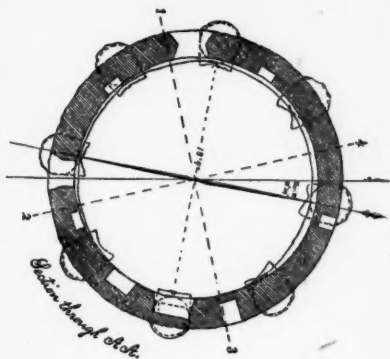
The next point in question is the windows. Are they the result of alterations? At first sight they appear to be so, for they present the only anomalous features in the building, their position having been established without regard to the intercolumniation. This is the more remarkable in that every other part of the building is accurately spaced on a given plan, from the setting out of the piers on the true cardinal points of the compass to the heights and curves of arches, and the placing of piers outside the axis of the wall. Would such a departure from symmetry in the disposition of windows be likely in the original design? Let us study the construction as shown in the illustrations. The reveals of windows are splayed both ways, leaving a square jamb, four inches wide in the centre. The sills are made of two flat stones, laid four inches apart, corresponding with the jambs ; the edges of these sills toward the centre are *square cut* the whole length, and terminate in mortises, four inches square and three and one-half inches

deep, sunk in the jambs, evidently to receive the wooden sill. The outer edges of these sills are broken and ragged, and a large part of the inner ones have disappeared. The lintels are made in the same manner. One of the windows shows a lintel on the outer face, the inner being finished with a segmental arch. The other window shows an inner lintel made of *two* stones, the vertical joint being near the centre of the opening. In both cases a space of four inches is left for wooden frame.

To make these changes was certainly not impossible, but they seem hardly probable. Had the stones of the wall been removed, the wooden frames set in place, and the wall rebuilt around them, the mortises could scarcely have been plastered all over smoothly on the inside, as they still remain. Other openings have been cut in the wall, but they are evidently of modern origin and of no importance in this connection.

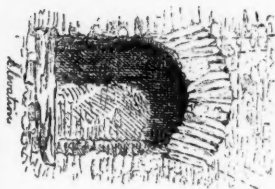
The two floors come next in order. The lower floor, as is evident from the angles taken by the mortises over caps of piers, was constructed as shown in the sketch. The frame was made of heavy timber, not less than ten inches square, as indicated by one of the mortises still perfect and plastered. Above these "summers" other beams were laid, and over them heavy planking, bringing the level of the floor up to the under-side of the hearth, and above the crowns of the arches.

To carry the second floor, the increased thickness of wall for fireplace is maintained around two-thirds of the building, and to the height of twenty feet and two inches from the ground. The remainder of the wall is carried up of one thickness to the top. Here was the staircase, as indicated by holes left to receive the ends of treads, and as shown on the interior elevation to the north of fireplace. Above the twenty feet two inches, the wall is carried up of the same section as in the well-hole. This arrangement leaves an offset of about six inches. A running mortise, six inches deep and six inches high, follows along the top of the offset to its termination in the well-hole. This mortise received the smaller beams. The floor was probably framed as shown in the section, leaving an opening for stairs. The angles of the two "summers," supporting this floor in the centre, are clearly indicated by the angles of the large mortises shown on section B B. This second floor probably remained in place until it rotted away and fell of its own weight, the tops and bottoms of the mortises being broken out by the leverage of the beams. The running mortise is capped with carefully selected stones, square and flat on the under side. This disposition of the framing gave a height of seven feet between first floor and the under side of "summers." The construction of these floors and the staircase—the outline

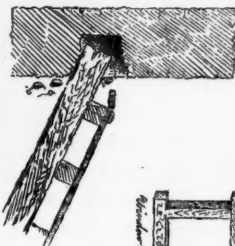


Old
Stone Mill
— at —
Newport, D. C.
— from —
measurements made by
Genl. Robinson, Junr,
Oberholt,
Oct. 10,
1873.

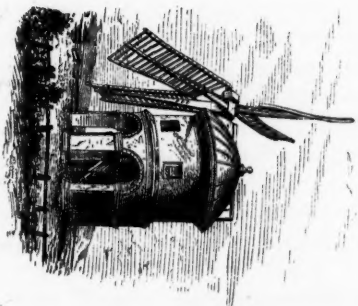




Plans of Mill-lane.

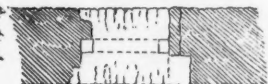


Side of mill-lane plan



Leamington Mill.
Built 1832.

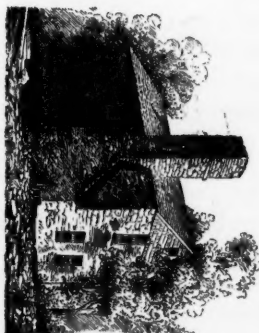
Sketch illustrating the construction of
— The Old Stone Mill —
— at Newbury, N.Y. —



Mill



Plans of Mill-lane.



House on Leamington Island.

200



of which is traced on the interior elevation—seems to be conclusive evidence that the ruined tower was not a Baptistery, but that it owes its origin to the English colonists.

Let us now compare the construction of the "Old Mill" with that of the mill at Leamington or Chesterton, England. This mill, designed by Inigo Jones, was erected in the year 1632, and is here illustrated by a sketch taken from the Penny Magazine. The theory that this mill furnished the model or *motif* for the Newport structure was considered by Mr. Hatfield as untenable, for the following reasons: The Newport tower has eight arches and round piers, the latter placed upon the cardinal points of the compass and outside the axis of the wall. The Leamington mill has but six arches, with square piers, placed—as is generally supposed—directly under the axis of the superstructure. The construction employed at Newport is random rubble, while the Leamington mill is built of cut stone. I can give no satisfactory reason for the adoption of eight arches instead of six, unless the number was fixed by the compass, to be a perpetual record of the cardinal points, based upon an accurate survey. Such a disposition is not improbable, as the mill stands upon the crown of a ledge of rock at a level of eighty-four feet above the sea, and near the summit of the ridge, which, running north and south through the centre of the island, rises gradually from the water on either side. Thus situated, the tower became naturally the most important edifice on the island, and a land-mark visible for several miles.

The other differences may be more easily accounted for. The Leamington mill was built in highly civilized England; materials of good quality were abundant, with skilled labor for cutting and fitting together stone work, enriched with carved mouldings and accurately jointed voussoirs. It was erected under the eye of Inigo Jones, and the result was the conversion of a simply utilitarian building into an artistic edifice.

The colonies at that time were a vast wilderness, with but few mechanics, and only rude appliances for cutting stone. They could lay out their work accurately, and build solidly—for eternity—but that was all. Time with them was a necessary consideration, and the work was rapidly accomplished. But allowing that the colonists had the necessary skill and the will to execute works in cut stone, the *material* was wanting. On Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, there is no stone to be found suitable to cut for face work. The rocks on the island consist of a laminated slate—which splits easily, and makes a strong, but not a

handsome wall—and ledges of gneiss, which yield what is ordinarily known as "Rocky Farm Stone." This stone, of good color and very hard, is exceedingly treacherous under the hammer, and flies in pieces when least expected. It is sometimes roughly squared "bed and build" for a rubble wall, but it is wholly unfit for "six-steel" work, the coarsest ordinary finish for granite. The "Old Mill" is built of these two kinds of stone, used indiscriminately with sea-worn stone from the beach. No other materials, wood excepted, could be obtained by the Northmen or by the early English colonists.

The position of the piers—outside the axis of the wall—does find a parallel in the Leamington mill, if the published prints of that building are to be relied upon. At Newport only the piers project; at Leamington both piers and arches project beyond the upper wall—the line of demarkation being emphasized by a moulded string-course. The inner faces of superstructure and piers show a vertical plane as at Newport. The piers, if built of the same section as the wall, would have been too small for strength, and in both cases the builders, desirous of saving all possible room within the circle, resorted to a mode of construction very suitable, as well as highly ornamental, when executed in cut work.

With a rude and intractable material, the Newport masons followed the outline of the Leamington mill, but found it necessary to set back the arches. It was easy for them to cap the exposed tops of piers with slabs of slate, roughly beveled on the upper side, but had they set the arches out on the same plane, they must have carried a drip-course of cut stone around the building as a protection against disintegration under the action of frost and rain. In both cases the placing of the superstructure upon a circle of open arches had the advantage of giving additional power to the sails, by preventing the wind from backing against a dead wall.

Why should the colonists adopt the Leamington mill as a model? The Leamington mill was erected in the year 1632, about five miles from the town of the same name. Governor Benedict Arnold was at that time in England, and resided in Warwickshire, not far from the site of the mill. He, moreover, mentions in his will a farm, which he calls his *Leamington* farm. In 1663 the Rhode Island colonists built their first windmill, as we gather from Peter Easton's diary; and August 28, 1675, he notes in the same diary: "On Saturday night, forty years after the great storm in 1635, came much the like storm, *blew down our wind-mill and did much harm.*" This first mill was of wood.

Governor Arnold made his will December 20th, 1677, a period of two years and four months after the gale which destroyed the first mill. During that time he may have erected a second and more enduring structure of stone, keeping in mind the model which he had seen at Leamington. He may also have wished to provide a place of safe retreat against his Indian foes, to whom he was obnoxious, owing to disputes growing out of the titles to some of his lands. He built a sort of fort on the wharf back of his house, and kept guard-boats plying back and forth in front of the town. In 1679 he went to Providence in an armed sloop, for his relations with some of the colonists were far from friendly.

Specimens of mortar taken from the "Old Mill" and other structures of the period—the house built by Governor Henry Bull in 1639, the tombs of Governor Arnold and his wife, and their dwelling house—have been analyzed, and found to be of the same quality, and composed of shell-lime, sand and gravel, with flakes of broken slate pounded fine. In alluding to the house of Governor Arnold, I will add that it stood until after the evacuation of the island by the British troops. One of the "oldest inhabitants" gives the following account of its destruction:

"The chimney and the whole south end were built of rough stone and coarse mortar, and plastered on the outside with the same. The rough stone and coarse mortar were so strongly cemented together that they could not take it down by commencing at the top, without great labor; for that reason the house was first pulled down, then guys were made fast to the top of the chimney and set tight by means of tackles to trees at a distance, to cause it to fall in a direction from the building near, when it was undermined and fell in *one mass*, and was afterwards broken up with sledges, &c."

This solidity of construction furnishes an additional argument in favor of the colonial origin of the mill.

In Mr. Hatfield's section of the "Old Mill Restored" he shows above the aisle roof a clere-story, pierced with eight round arched windows, with deeply splayed sills, allowing the entering light to take its mean angle of 45°. If this were the original construction, the height of the wall must have been at least thirty-six feet instead of twenty-six feet, as at present. Now since the date of Governor Arnold's will two hundred years have elapsed, and the tower still stands, a firm and homogeneous mass of stone and mortar. The top is level, and the cap-stones of flues are in their places. Is it likely that in the six hundred years, between the visits of the Northmen and the English occupation of the

island, ten feet of the tower disappeared—was removed or fell of itself? It would hardly seem so. Had the colonists found it of full height, with numerous windows scientifically constructed, is it likely that they would have cut it down ten feet, inserted new windows at irregular intervals, and put in floors, stairs, fireplace and flues, all which would have impaired its value as a mill? Thirty-six feet is no more than the usual height of windmills, and their sails have a diameter of from sixty to eighty feet. That the structure was originally plastered or stuccoed is highly probable, as the colonists were accustomed to cover their rough stone work in this way, and we have seen that the same course was followed in building Governor Arnold's house.

The domestic edifices erected by the early English colonists exhibit, in nearly every instance, stone chimneys and gable ends, as already described in connection with the house of Governor Arnold. The sides of these buildings and the ends above the line of roof-plate were of frame construction, made of heavy oak timber rudely squared, put together with tree-nails and boarded with oak, usually at an angle of 45°, thus making of every board a separate brace. The boarding was covered with coarse stucco, or split shingles, put on with wrought nails. Many of these venerable houses still remain, their sturdy timbers and thick walls seeming to defy the ravages of time. The two selected for illustration are good examples of their class, and each has had an eventful history, with quaint legends of its own. The first was erected by Governor Henry Bull in the year 1639. Until within a few months it stood unaltered, but since then the "restorer" has been at work, and one-half of the house has been modernized. The gable ends and the rear still remain as originally built; the stone, similar to that in the "Old Mill," is laid up in the same rough and random manner. The second example is from the island of Conanicut, opposite Newport. The date of its erection is not definitely known. A relic of the past, with huge chimney and picturesque outline, it nestles among the trees, quaint, old and time-worn. But old as it is, it is still tenantable, and may do good service for many years.

One other detail in the construction of the "Old Mill" is worthy of notice. The disposition of the eight piers upon the true cardinal points of the compass is a feature that must have been the result of deliberate thought and careful measurement. Can we by chance get a clue to the date of erection from this fact? By referring to section A A, it will be seen that the true north bisects one of the piers. The variation of the needle, taken from reliable modern maps, is 100° 34' west.

Now did the founders of the edifice find the magnetic north, and then calculate the variation to discover the true north, or was the "Mill" erected at some period of time when there happened to be no variation of the needle? This problem I am not able to solve, and I only allude to it here hoping that some scientific investigator may be able to throw light upon the subject, if only to establish the date of the erection of the "Old Stone Mill."

GEORGE C. MASON, JR.

A JUSTIFICATION OF GENERAL SULLIVAN

I regret to see an injustice done to the memory of one who made as great sacrifices for the cause of American liberty and national independence as any other general officer of the Continental army. I allude to General Sullivan. The following considerations show that the charges in the July number [1879], in the article on the French in Rhode Island, imputing unnecessary delay to General Sullivan in 1778 are not just.

It is there stated (III. 390) "that the plans of the allied forces were to fall to the ground from the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements," and the golden opportunity lost between the 29th of July (when D'Estaing arrived with his fleet off Newport) and the 9th of August (when the French army disembarked on Conanicut, and reembarked, and the Americans crossed on to the island). I have in my possession the correspondence of the general officers connected with the expedition, and have studied it carefully in preparation of a paper on the siege of Newport, read in 1875-1876 before the Rhode Island and Pennsylvania Historical Societies. I shall be glad to submit this correspondence to any student of our revolutionary history who takes an interest in the subject. I am confident that no one familiar with this, the best evidence of what occurred, will discover in it the shadow of foundation for the charge of needless delay, but on the contrary every proof of dispatch. These papers came into my possession from the grandsons of General Sullivan, and I feel it my duty, and shall be doubtless justified in the public mind, to defend his reputation when unjustly assailed.

When D'Estaing arrived off New York a joint attack was intended by his fleet and the army of Washington on that city. But this not proving practicable, on the 20th of July Hamilton wrote Washington that D'Estaing had decided for Newport. By the 23d, Sullivan, apprised of this intention, began his preparations. A few weeks earlier he had informed Congress that the 1,500 men under his command were scattered from Point Judith to Seconnet Point, sixty miles. As on the 17th of July the garrison of Newport had been reenforced to 7,000 veterans, at least double that number, according to military rules, were needed for the attack, and to form part of this force there were 4,000 French soldiers in the fleet. Washington sent him about 2,000 men from the army

which fought at Monmouth. The greater part of his army Sullivan had to collect from their farms and workshops throughout New England or from their business pursuits in its large towns. Supplies for twenty thousand men, including the French soldiers and sailors, were to be gathered, boats, guns and ammunition to be provided; and D'Estaing looked to him for whatever he needed, after his long voyage aboard his ships.

The army was thus not only to be largely created, but organized, drilled and disciplined; the officers in many instances being as inexperienced as their men. As to the battle of Butts' Hill on the 29th of August, of the 5,000 who then composed the army, only 1,500 had been under fire, and these must have consisted of the Continentals sent by Washington; it will readily be conjectured how difficult was the task. These preparatory movements and arrangements took time; and by the 8th of August—when the arrival of a considerable portion of his troops from Boston rendered it prudent to cross on to the island, and the withdrawal of the two regiments of the enemy posted at Butts' Hill permitted the Americans to cross unopposed, to have gathered together an army of ten thousand men in two weeks from such distances, and to have organized out of such material, militia and volunteers, fit for service, a force competent to cope with seven thousand veterans, strongly entrenched, deserves praise, and not blame.

It should be remembered that the arrival of the English fleet from Europe or the storm were not events for calculation. The conjuncture demanded dispatch, but not precipitation. Had Sullivan crossed on to the island with an inferior force and insufficient supplies, and encountered disasters, he would have been more reasonably obnoxious to criticism. The requirements of his responsible command were zeal, activity and prudence, and whoever reads the letters which were passing in those eventful days, urging forward troops and supplies, and upon other matters—forty or fifty in French—will be convinced that they were not wanting in the General-in-Chief or in his coadjutors; and he had with him the Greenes, Varnum and Cornell, and much of the time Lafayette likewise.

Before the arrival of the troops from Boston and the evacuation by the enemy of the lines on Butts' Hill on the 8th of August, the design had been for the Americans to cross at Fogland Ferry, and the Provence and Engageante, under Preville, were ordered while the troops were approaching to join the Alc  me and Aimable, under St. Cosme, stationed there since the 30th of July to protect the crossing. Opposition

was expected, and due precautions taken, requiring time, as also preconcerted arrangements, as the French were to have landed simultaneously on the west shore of the island, either near Dyer's Island or between it and Coddington Cove, and thus cut off the two regiments at Butts' Hill. Wind and its direction were important elements for consideration, as the movements depended on support from the fleet. Up to the 9th all had gone prosperously, no time had been lost; neither the people who, in their exhausted condition, sent so large a force into the field; neither officers nor men, French nor Americans, were chargeable with procrastination. They had all done marvellously well. The appearance of the English fleet, the storm, were beyond their control. The spirit of detraction must travel far to find fault with any one. Mr. Stevens relies, I presume, on what he considers good authority for his statement, but I am sure on review of the actual circumstances he will be just to General Sullivan, and at least allow those who have read the charge to consider the reasons which go to disprove it. This charge of delay I have not seen before.* All other charges have been shown to be groundless, and I am sure if the correspondence were published, there would be an end to the fault finding with one who was faithful to the cause, and lost his health and a large part of his means in the contest.

I also submit to the readers the enclosed portions of the General Orders of the 24th and 26th of August, that they may judge for themselves if the opinion alluded to on page 392 of the Magazine, when taken in connection with the occasion and the context, was just or well grounded. It was very prudent and reasonable that Washington and Greene should "disavow" what seemed to be an imputation on the good faith of our allies, who, after inducing such costly preparations, abandoned our army in a position of such great danger and probable humiliation. Unless compelled by greater disasters than they seemed to have sustained on their return on the 20th, in the pursuit of the English fleet, from the storm or partial engagements, they certainly were under obligation to incur some risk, and if they had tarried forty-eight hours Newport would have fallen. Sullivan no doubt, as a good officer and patriot, was willing to be sacrificed to prevent any unpleasantness endangering the alliance and cooperation of the French, but it does not necessarily follow that his language in the orders of the 24th was indiscreet or unseasonable. It certainly did not prevent a good understanding before the week was over with D'Estaing. Considering what is now known of the state of feeling in the fleet, the irritations existing between the Admiral and his officers, reported by Greene, should be taken into account.

Towards the close of the General Orders of August 24th is the passage to which exception has been taken by the article. It reads: "The General cannot help lamenting the sudden and unexpected departure of the French fleet, as he finds it has a tendency to discourage some, who placed great dependence upon its assistance, though he by no means supposes that the army, or any part of it, is the least endangered by the movement. The enemy now on the island are far inferior in numbers to this army, and are so sensible of their inferiority that nothing can tempt them to action. This superiority we shall maintain, so long as the spirit and ardor of Americans continue to be the same as in the beginning of this enterprize, unless the enemy should receive a strong reenforcement. This is the only event which can oblige us to abandon any part of the island we are now possessed of, and this event cannot take place in an instant. A considerable time will be required for a fleet to enter the harbor, come to anchor, and land a body of men sufficient to make the number of the enemy equal to ours. The General assures the army that he has taken into consideration every event that can possibly happen, and has guarded in such a manner that in case of the most disagreeable, a retreat, it can be made with the greatest safety. It is with grief and astonishment he finds large numbers of volunteers are about to quit the island at this time, and give to America a lasting proof of their want of firmness and bravery. The approaches to the enemy's line are to be carried on with the greatest despatch. The General is fully sensible of the value the brave officers and soldiers and citizens are to America, and he is determined that no rash steps shall make a sacrifice of them. At the same time he wishes them to place a proper confidence in him as their commander-in-chief, whose business it is to attend to their safety. Yet he hopes Americans will prove by the event able to procure that by their own arms which their allies refuse them assistance in obtaining."

It having been suggested that the last sentence of this General Order might give umbrage to the unreasonable susceptibilities of the French General and his officers, General Sullivan, not that he conceived any reparation was due, for the withdrawal of the fleet at such a time warranted an expression of warmth, and the language used was that best adapted to keep up the spirit of his troops, on which their safety depended, but still not disposed to endanger the good understanding between the two countries, endeavored the day but one after to do away any impression that might have that tendency.

On the 26th August he says in his General Orders: "That having secured his heavy cannon and provided a safe and easy retreat in case of misfortune, he thinks proper to inform the army that he has the strongest reason to expect that before reenforcements arrive to oblige us to quit our present position, that the French fleet will return to cooperate with us in the reduction of the island. It having been supposed by some persons that by the orders of the 24th instant the commander-in-chief meant to intimate that the departure of the French fleet was owing to a fixed determination not to assist in the enterprise, and as the General would not wish to give the least color for ungenerous and illiberal minds to make such unfair interpretations, he thinks it necessary to say that he could not be acquainted with the Admiral's orders, or determine whether the removal of the French fleet was absolutely necessary. He, however, hopes that their speedy return will show their attention and regard for the alliance formed between us, and add to the obligations which the Americans are already under to the French nation. However mortifying the departure of the French fleet was to us at such a time of expectation, we ought not too suddenly to censure the movement, or for an act of any kind to forget the aid and protection which has been afforded us by the French since the commencement of the present contest. He regrets the numbers of militia or volunteers whose time is up who are going off, and begs those who can to stay a few days longer."

This was on Wednesday, and on Friday, the 28th, 3,000 of the volunteers and militia having gone home, leaving his force less than the British behind their entrenchments, and informed by Washington that reenforcements to the garrison (who—about 4,000—actually arrived on Monday, the 31st) were on their way from New York, he moved his army Tuesday night in good order eleven miles to Butts' Hill, and on Saturday took place what Lafayette pronounced the best fought battle of the war. The numbers on either side were equal, about 5,000, and it ended by a charge of the light corps and a regiment under Jackson from Massachusetts, under Colonel Livingston, ordered by Sullivan, which drove the British to their lines on Quaker Hill at the point of the bayonet; and on the night of the 30th the Americans left the island without loss, unopposed.

THOMAS C. AMORY

* "On the eighth, the French fleet, which a whim of Sullivan had detained for ten days in the offing, ran past the British batteries into the harbor of Newport." *Bancroft's History of the United States*, Vol. X., p. 147, Boston, 1874.

EDITOR.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL MEREDITH

FIRST TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES

In the noble eulogy on Emanuel Swedenborg, delivered by Mr. Samuel Sandel, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, at the request of that body, in the Great Hall of the House of Nobles, on the 7th of October, 1772, occur these words:

"Nature and art form the ornaments of the earth; birth and education form those of the human race. A fruit-seed does not always produce a tree which yields as excellent fruit as that which produced it; which often is owing to the modifications effected in the tree by art, which occasion a difference in its products, but do not at all alter its nature. Experience supplies us with a great many similar instances in our species. But it would be hazarding a paradox were we to attempt to determine how far certain virtues are hereditary in families, or are introduced into them by education. Be this as it may, it cannot be denied, that the advantage of having sprung from a respectable and virtuous family, inspires a man with confidence, when he is conscious that he does not disgrace his descent. In every condition, it is a real advantage to be born in a family which has been, for a long time, the abode of honor and virtue, and a nursery of citizens every way useful to the country."

To such a family belonged the subject of this sketch. The son of a man, himself distinguished for his virtue, integrity and patriotism, a friend of liberty and a benefactor of his country, we are not surprised to find Samuel Meredith, at an early day, openly advocating the cause of the colonies.

Reese Meredith, the father, was a native of Leominster, Herefordshire, where he was born in 1708. His father, John Meredith, a woolen merchant of that town, was the youngest son of "Richard Meredith of Presteigne, Gentleman," living in 1673, the representative of the ancient line of "Merediths of Radnorshire," to whom Queen Elizabeth granted the right to bear arms in 1572, viz: "Argent, a lion rampant, sable, collared and chained, or; Crest, a demi-lion, rampant, sable, collared and changed, or." Reese Meredith was educated at Oxford, and at his father's death, in 1729, came to this country, landing in Philadel-

phia in February, 1730, where he entered the counting house of John Carpenter, second son of the well-known Samuel Carpenter, Member of the Provincial Council, Treasurer of the Province, and one of the two Lieutenant-Governors appointed by Penn to assist Markham in the government of the Province; the commission bears date September 24, 1694, and was issued to John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter. In 1738 Mr. Meredith married his employer's daughter, Martha, and was taken into partnership with his father-in-law, and on his death succeeded to the business. He lost his wife August 26, 1769; he survived her nine years, dying on the 14th of November, 1778. During the darkest hours of the revolution Mr. Meredith's faith in the ultimate success of the colonies never wavered; and when the patriots were perishing from cold and hunger, at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1777-78, he generously gave, from his ample means, the munificent sum of £5,000 to feed and clothe the starving soldiers. George Clymer and Colonel Henry Hill, names well known to the students of American history, were his sons-in-law.

Samuel Meredith, the son, was born in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1741, in his father's mansion, which stood on the corner of Second and Walnut streets. The house was built by his great-grandfather, Samuel Carpenter, soon after the settlement of the city. When about fourteen years of age he entered the academy of Dr. Robert Allison, of Philadelphia, a noted Presbyterian divine, where he remained some four years. Upon leaving the academy he immediately went into his father's counting house, and devoted himself to learning mercantile business. March 22d, 1765, George Clymer married his sister, Elizabeth Meredith, and in April the two young men were admitted as partners in the business, the firm name becoming "Meredith & Sons." It so continued until 1778, after which it was "Meredith & Clymer," until 1782, when it was dissolved. November 7th, 1765, all three of the firm signed the "Non-Importation Resolutions," the great forerunner of the "Declaration of '76." About this time Mr. Meredith began to take a deep interest in the political affairs of the day. He was an earnest advocate of the principles of the Whig party, and served a term or two in the General Assembly. On the 19th of May, 1772, he was united in marriage, at the Arch street Meeting House (Friends), to Margaret, daughter of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, one of Philadelphia's leading surgeons, and a member of the Governor's Council. They enjoyed a happy married life of forty-five years, and were blessed with six children. On the 20th of May, 1774, Mr. Meredith attended the first of the meetings, held by the

citizens of Philadelphia, to protest against the unjust pretensions and usurpations of Great Britain. On the 18th of June he was present at the great meeting held in the State House yard, at which John Dickenson and Thomas Willing presided, when it was determined to be expedient to issue a call for a Continental Congress. Mr. Meredith was sent, as a deputy from Philadelphia, to the Provincial Convention, held in Independence Hall from the 23d to the 28th of January, 1775. On the 24th of April, 1775, he was one of the great meeting held in the State House yard, at which it was estimated over eight thousand citizens were present. Here it was that the citizens of Philadelphia determined to form battalions for the defence of their lives, liberty and property. One of these battalions, the Third, was officered as follows: John Cadwalader, Colonel; John Nixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; Thomas Mifflin, Senior Major; Samuel Meredith, Junior Major.

The first appearance of these citizen soldiers was in May, when they marched out to meet the southern delegates to Congress, and escort them into the city; a like compliment was paid to the delegates from the Eastern States a few days later. The third battalion is historically known as the "Silk Stockings," so called from the social standing of its officers and men. Early in 1775 a number of the prominent citizens of Philadelphia, favorable to the cause of independence, organized an association, which they named the "Whig Society." Each member presided in turn for a month. In August, 1775, this honor fell on Major Meredith. The questions discussed were, of course, of a political nature. The society generally met at the "City Tavern." Washington, in July, 1776, requested that the associators be sent to the defence of Amboy. In pursuance of these orders, Colonel John Dickenson with the First battalion, and Colonel John Cadwalader with the Third and the Second, the name of whose Colonel is unknown to us, left Philadelphia on the 12th of July for Amboy, and remained there six weeks. In December, upon Washington's recommendation, the three battalions were consolidated into one brigade of 1,200 men, with Colonel Cadwalader as Brigadier-General. Nixon became Colonel of the third, and Meredith, Lieutenant-Colonel, the Senior Major, Mifflin, having been elected to Congress. They left Philadelphia for Trenton on the 10th. Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated December 13th, 1776, says: "Cadwalader, with the Philadelphia militia, occupies the ground above and below the mouth of the Neshaminy River, as far down as Dunk's Ferry, at which place Colonel Nixon is posted with the Third battalion of Philadelphia."

When Washington planned the attack on Trenton, he arranged for the main army to cross at "McConkey's Ferry," nine miles above Trenton; Dickenson, with the New Jersey Militia, to cross at Yardlyville, four miles above the town; Ewing at the Falls opposite; and Cadwalader at Bristol. Owing to the ice, the main army alone succeeded in crossing. Cadwalader, with a detachment, crossed over at Bristol, but had to return, as his entire force was unable to move. He succeeded, however, in crossing on the 30th, and marched to Lambertown, now South Trenton, on the south side of the Assunpink Creek, and his entire command took an active part in the battle of Princeton on the 3d of January, 1777. The Americans then went into winter quarters at Morristown. Cadwalader's brigade remained there until about February 1st, when they returned to Philadelphia.

In the latter part of January Washington paid a flying visit to Philadelphia, as would appear from the following extract from a letter to Colonel Meredith from his wife, bearing date January 27, 1777: "General Washington invited himself to breakfast with me yesterday; the children were at table, and behaved themselves extremely well. I observed that the General is very grave. I do not wonder at it; a man of his reflection must feel strongly our present unhappy situation. * * * Experience teaches me, my dear husband, that true happiness can alone be found in the bosom of independence." The intimacy between General Washington and the Merediths was one of long standing, and Reese Meredith used to relate the following anecdote as to its origin, which has been handed down to us by successive generations. Says he: "In the fall of 1755 I happened to step into the Coffee House to lunch. While sitting there I noticed a genteel-looking stranger, sitting apart from the rest, reading a paper. I took the liberty of a Friend to approach the young man, and inquired his name and place of residence, and was answered in reply that he was Colonel George Washington of Virginia; that he was here on business for the Governor of Virginia in relation to the Indians. I was highly pleased with the young man's appearance, and invited him home to dine with me on fresh venison." This acquaintance, thus happily begun, lasted through life, and was only broken by the death of Washington in 1799.

April 5, 1777, Colonel Meredith was commissioned Brigadier-General of the Fourth Brigade; June 5th, 1777, John Armstrong was commissioned Major-General, and on the 26th of August James Irvine, Brigadier-General. The four brigades were placed under Armstrong, the Brigadiers ranking as follows: John Cadwalader, First Brigade,

date of commission, December 25, 1776; James Potter, Second Brigade, date of commission, April 5, 1777; Samuel Meredith, Third Brigade, date of commission, April 5, 1777; James Irvine, Fourth Brigade, date of commission, August 26, 1777. In this rank they took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and shared the discomforts of Valley Forge.

General Meredith's military service ended January 9, 1778, when he resigned his commission, and returned to Philadelphia. He was succeeded by his senior Colonel, John Lacey, whose commission dates January 9, 1778. This step was occasioned by his father's ill health, and the continued absence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Clymer, to the great detriment of the business of the firm of Meredith & Sons. General Meredith had taken the oath of allegiance to the new State Government of Pennsylvania, August 7, 1777, and on the 6th of November, 1778, was elected to the Assembly from the city of Philadelphia. He served until October, 1779. He was again elected to the Assembly in November, 1781, and served until October, 1783. In the fall of 1779 he, with George Clymer and Henry Hill, fitted out the sloop-of-war "*Mariah*," commanded by John Lord, carrying eight guns, and manned by twenty-five men.

In the spring of 1780 he and George Clymer subscribed £5,000 (\$25,000) each to the fund of \$315,000, contributed by ninety-three citizens of Philadelphia, for the support of the army. Mr. Meredith was also a director of the Bank of North America, organized by Robert Morris and others in May, 1781. In August, 1781, he was elected President of the Welsh Society in Philadelphia, which bore the rather high-sounding title of the "Royal Society of Ancient Britons." In 1782 he and Mr. Clymer dissolved partnership. November 26, 1786, he was elected to the Congress of the Confederation and served on the committee, composed of one delegate from each State, which issued the call for the Federal Convention, in pursuance of the recommendation contained in the letter issued by the Annapolis Convention of 1786. General Meredith served until November, 1788 (two terms). August 9, 1789, he was appointed by President Washington Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, but he held the office only six weeks, as appears from the following:

"Journal of the Senate, Friday, September 11, 1789—A message from the President of the United States, which Mr. Lear, his secretary, delivered to the Vice President and withdrew: '*Gentlemen of the*

Senate: I nominate for the department of the Treasury of the United States Alexander Hamilton of New York, Secretary; Nicholas Eveleigh of South Carolina, Comptroller; Samuel Meredith of Pennsylvania, Treasurer; Oliver Wolcott, Jr., of Connecticut, Auditor; and Joseph Nourse of Pennsylvania, Register; * * * and in case the nomination of Samuel Meredith should meet with the advice and consent of the Senate, I nominate as Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia William McPherson.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

General Meredith entered upon the duties of his office when the Treasury of the country was in a most distressing condition. It required financial ability of the highest order; but Washington well knew the character of the man whom he had selected to fill this most responsible position. He held the office twelve years and six weeks; his annual reports were models of their kind, and always received deserved recognition from the hands of Congress. During his long administration as Treasurer not a single discrepancy marred the entire correctness of his accounts. During the first year he resided in New York in a house on Broadway, opposite the Presidential Mansion. He was on terms of intimacy with Chancellor Livingston, with whom he frequently dined in a "friendly manner." He was also a frequent guest at the table of the first President, as appears by the latter's private journal. He resided in Philadelphia from 1790 to 1800, and in Washington until October 31, 1801, the date of his retirement. He served under Washington and the elder Adams, and seven months under Jefferson; and his chiefs were: Alexander Hamilton, 1789-95; Oliver Wolcott, 1795-1800, and Samuel Dexter, 1800-1802. His retirement was due to ill-health and financial embarrassments, his private affairs having become sadly neglected during his official life; upon it he received the following complimentary letter from Jefferson:

"Monticello, September 4, 1801.

Dear Sir:—I received, yesterday, your favor of August 29th, resigning your office as Treasurer of the United States after the last of October next. I am sorry for the circumstances which dictate the measure to you; but from their nature, and the deliberate consideration of which it seems to be the result, I presume that dissuaves on my part would be without effect. My time in office has not been such as to bring me into intimate insight into the proceedings of the several departments, but I am sure I hazard nothing when I testify

in your favor, that you have conducted yourself with perfect integrity and propriety in the duties of the office you have filled and pray you to be assured of my highest consideration.

Mr. Meredith.

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

General Meredith retired to his estate called "Belmont," situated in Clinton, Mount Pleasant and Preston townships, Wayne County, Pennsylvania. It was some twenty miles in length, and two in breadth, and contained nearly 26,000 acres. He had purchased this tract about 1796, and about 1812 erected a dwelling on it, about a mile from Mount Pleasant, at a cost of \$6,000. Here he spent the remaining sixteen years of his life, superintending the settlement and development of his vast estate. He, with his brother-in-law, George Clymer, from 1774 until 1800 purchased vast tracts of wild land, situated in Bradford, Luzerne, Pike, Schuylkill, Sullivan, Susquehanna, Wayne and Wyoming counties, Pennsylvania; Sullivan and Delaware counties, New York, and in Western Virginia and Eastern Kentucky; in all about 500,000 acres.

General Meredith departed this life at "Belmont," on Monday, February 10th, 1817, in the seventy-sixth year of his age; his wife survived him nearly four years, dying September 20th, 1820. They were both buried in the private burial-ground of the family, on the "manor tract." We know of no better personal description of the General than the following, taken from a letter written by the venerable Alvah Norton, of Aldenville, Wayne County, to Dr. Meredith Maxwell, of New York, a great-grandson of the General. It is dated June 30th, 1877. Mr. Norton was then in his eighty-first year.

"Dear Sir:—Received your letter dated June 20th, 1877, concerning General Samuel Meredith. In reply to your first inquiry, I remember an elderly gentleman attired in dress coat and knee-breeches of navy-blue broadcloth; shoes and silken hose; gold buckles at the knee and shoes; buff or white vest; ruffled shirt front and ruffles at the wrist falling over his delicate hands; hair powdered and worn in a queue, tied with a ribbon the color of his coat. In height about five feet ten inches, straight as an arrow, spare in flesh. A well-balanced head, bright, restless, light-blue eyes under a well-developed forehead, an aquiline nose, a firm mouth and decided chin. I have often seen him walking the porch of his residence, hands linked behind him, with nervous movements, oftentimes thinking aloud. There hung (in the old days), in the parlor at Belmont, a portrait of him, taken, I judge, about the age of forty, which was considered by the family to be an excellent likeness; * * * Of

his habits of life I may not be a competent judge; should think he kept as closely to his city habits as change to country life would permit.

* * * He kept a colored housekeeper named Rachael who, I think, came with the family from Philadelphia. She always, after his death, insisted that 'Old Massa' visited the sleeping-rooms, after the occupants were asleep, to see if the lights were out—an invariable habit of his as long as he lived. * * * His daughters were expected to take as much care of their personal appearance as though living in Philadelphia. They were always in full dress at dinner."

Three hours were occupied at the dinner-table daily, and the utmost ceremony observed.

On the gentle declivity of the Moosic, overlooking the lovely valley of the Lackawaxen, lie the remains of the beloved friend of Washington and the first Treasurer of the Union; by his side sleeps his noble and accomplished wife. A movement was set on foot July 4, 1877, for the erection of a monument to mark the site. Hon. Edward Overton, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, has introduced a joint resolution in the House at Washington for an appropriation of \$10,000.

Of General Meredith's issue, we shall make slight mention of three. His only son, Thomas Meredith, was a lawyer by profession; held the commission of Major during the war of 1812; served as Prothonotary, Clerk of Courts, Recorder and Register for Wayne county, 1821-30, and was largely interested in the development of the Lackawanna coal-fields. He opened the first mines in Carbondale in 1824, obtained a charter, and had the route surveyed for a railroad from Scranton to Great Bend. The route is now used by the northern division of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Rail Road. He died at Trenton, New Jersey, in 1855, aged 76.

General Meredith's eldest daughter, Martha, married Hon. John Read, Agent-General of the United States for British Debts, member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and Senate, City Solicitor of Philadelphia, and President of the Philadelphia Bank, 1819-41. Their son was the late Hon. John Meredith Read, LL.D., member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania and Justice of the Supreme Court, Pennsylvania, 1858-72; Chief Justice 1872-73; and father of General John Meredith Read, LL.D., F. S. A., M. R. I. A., Regent of Cornell University, Adjutant-General of the State of New York, Consul-General to Paris, 1869-73, Minister and Chargé d'Affaires to Athens, 1873-79. General Meredith's third daughter, Anne,

married Samuel Dickenson, Esq., of Trenton, father of Philemon Dickenson, Esq., President of the Trenton Banking Co., 1832-79, United States Pension Agent for many years, member of the New Jersey Constitutional Commission, 1873, and Chairman Board of Managers of the State Sinking Fund, a Mason of high rank, an honorary member of the New Jersey Historical Society and of the State Society of the Cincinnati, and also of Colonel Samuel Dickenson's First New Jersey Militia, and Captain of Company E, Tenth U. S. Infantry during the Mexican war.

WHARTON DICKENSON

PERSONAL NARRATIVE
OF THE SERVICES OF LIEUT.
JOHN SHREVE

OF THE NEW JERSEY LINE OF THE CON-
TINENTAL ARMY

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—John Shreve, the writer, of the following narrative, was born April 8th, 1762, in Mansfield, Burlington county, New Jersey. He was the son of Colonel Israel Shreve, who commanded the Second New Jersey Regiment, "Continental Line," which was in active service during the war of the Revolution. John was made Ensign in 1776, and was appointed Lieutenant in July, 1777, in which capacity he served until he left the army in 1781. He was but thirteen years of age when he entered the army.

S. H. SHREVE

Soon after the battle on Bunker's (or Breed's) Hill, near Boston, in the province of Massachusetts, Congress, composed of delegates chosen in the 13 United Colonies, ordered four regiments to be raised in New Jersey. William Maxwell was appointed Colonel of the Second regiment, and my father, Israel Shreve, was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the same regiment; Maxwell took charge of four companies, rendezvous in Trenton, and the other four companies were under the command of my father at Burlington. Their commissions (I believe) were dated in November of that year; the companies were all completed in December, but clothing, arms and other equipments could not be procured for all the men until the month of February. Maxwell's men were supplied first, and marched for Canada

with the other three regiments, the first commanded by Colonel Ogden, the third by Colonel Dayton and the fourth by Colonel Marten. They passed over Lakes George and Champlain and down the River Saint Lawrence on the ice to the plains of Abraham at Quebec. My father followed the last of February with his four companies, and took me with him. We passed through Trenton, past Sussex Court House in New Jersey and Kingston (alias Esopus) to Albany in New York, where we stayed several weeks waiting for the ice to disappear in the lakes; here we were joined by Colonel Buel's regiment from Connecticut and several companies from Pennsylvania. We proceeded up the Hudson river to old Fort Edward, then over to Fort George, at the head of Lake George, where we remained some time for the ice to pass out of Lake Champlain and the river Saint Lawrence, collecting batteaux and loading them with cannon balls, bombshells and other military stores. When the ice was gone out of Lake Champlain we, with 25 or 30 men in each boat, cut through the ice a considerable distance in Lake George, passed Ticonderoga, Crownpoint and through Lake Champlain; then passed Fort St. Johns down the rapids to Fort Chamblee, from thence down the beautiful River Sorel to the River St. Lawrence, thence down the latter river between several islands, then through Lake St. Peter, said to be thirty miles wide each way, the St. Lawrence river passing through it. A heavy gale of wind came on us as we were about the middle of the lake; we all reached the shore in safety in the

dark night, but several of the batteaux filled with water. Next morning we got into the river below, and passed down in a heavy shower of snow by the town of Three Rivers, Point Shambo, and landed at Wolfe's Cove in sight of Quebec City; they fired cannon shot at us, which fell short of us, but we heard the shot or balls whistle, which were the first English bullets that I ever heard screaming in the air, but not the last. We marched up General Wolfe's road to the plains of Abraham, and joined our other troops, I believe on the 2nd or 3rd day of May, 1776. A fire ship had been prepared, to set the enemy's shipping in the harbor on fire, and was in waiting for our arrival to storm the city. After preparing ladders, an attempt was made to set the enemy's shipping on fire, and our army marched with the ladders to scale the walls; but the ship had been fired too soon, and blew up before she reached the enemy, and our troops threw down their ladders and returned to the encampment. The next day the British fleet arrived in sight of the city with a reinforcement of nine or ten thousand troops; our army then raised the siege and retired up the river on the sixth day of May, 1776.

I, with Samuel Shute, son of Captain Shute, who was a little younger than I was, with our guns and knapsacks filled with some clothing and provisions, were sent off by ourselves with orders to remain at Point Shambo till the army arrived at that place. An English armed schooner came up the river ahead of our army with intent to capture our boats at Point Shambo, which were in a cove above the point. She frequently

fired at Shute and me, but did no other damage than to kill a cow belonging to a Frenchman. She passed on ahead of our army, and at low water got half way up the rapids. At this point, the wind dying away, she drifted down and came to anchor below the falls. Our army came on before a vessel could ascend the falls, got possession of the boats and ascended the river, passed over Lake St. Peter, and arrived at the mouth of the River Sorel, where we met General Thompson from Pennsylvania with fresh troops; they, being full of fight, would go and meet the enemy; they took the boats, and met the enemy near the Three Rivers Landing, and left the boats without a guard. The enemy moved many vessels up the river, landed their troops and took possession of the boats, defeated General Thompson, killed many, and took him and half of his men prisoners. The survivors had to pass through a swamp and round the north side of Lake St. Peter, and cross over the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Sorel.

When we arrived at the encampment near Quebec General Thomas of New England commanded, but died in a few days with the small pox (and many of the New England soldiers died also; the British knowing the New Englanders were opposed to being inoculated, sent out spies to spread the disease in the American camp, which killed more Yankees than they did). After the defeat at the Three Rivers Sullivan had the command.

My father was left at Sorel to collect provisions. When the army went down the river with General Thompson I stayed

at Sorel. Captain Ephraim Anderson, who was blown up in the fire ship and considerably burnt, was sent express to Congress after the defeat at the Three Rivers, and my father sent me and Samuel Shute, a son of Captain Shute, with Captain Anderson to go home and attend a school to fit us better for the next campaign. Gen. Sullivan conducted our army up the River Sorel and over Lake Champlain, and made a stand at Mount Independence, opposite and in sight of Ticonderoga, where I was appointed Ensign, a few days after the Declaration of Independence, in the Second regiment. The four New Jersey regiments were raised for one year, and were discharged in December, 1776.

Capt. Anderson left me with Samuel Shute at Skenesborough contrary to promise, and took the most of my money. Samuel and I had to go on foot by ourselves to Albany; from that place we went in a vessel to New York. The British fleet had arrived near Sandy Hook a short time before, and we could see their masts, which appeared like a forest of dead trees. We went on foot from New York through Elizabethtown, Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and Bristol. I crossed over the Delaware to Burlington, and stayed a few days with my grandmother; then went to Philadelphia, and went to school, and continued at school until the Jersey troops were discharged.

I then was appointed first Ensign in the Second Regiment, my recruiting warrant was dated the 26th of December, 1776. Wm. Maxwell was appointed Brigadier Genl, and my father commissioned Colonel of the Second Regi-

ment. Three new regiments were ordered to be raised; Col. Ogden commanded the First, Col. Shreve the Second and Col. Dayton the Third. The new regiments were organized and mustered the first of February, 1777.

The enemy having been driven out of New Jersey, except at Brunswick and Amboy, Gen. Maxwell was appointed to command the New Jersey Brigade, consisting of the three regiments, and ordered to watch them at Brunswick, and to be on the lines between Elizabethtown, Newark and New York. The enemy came out from Brunswick and had an engagement with our regiment at the Short Hills; we lost Captain Ephraim Anderson, killed.

I was appointed Lieutenant the 1st of July. I was taken sick with a fever, and went to Col. John Olds, twelve miles east of the town of Reading, in Pennsylvania, where my father's family were residing after the enemy had overrun New Jersey. I was very low with the fever for several weeks. When I was well enough to ride out, Col. Olds took me to several harvest fields, where a dozen or more women were reaping and securing the wheat, and not a man with them; their fathers, husbands, brothers were at camp with General Washington, watching the movements of the enemy.

The British had embarked in their fleet, and were manœuvring on the coast between Boston and the Chesapeake, with the intention of baffling Gen. Washington, and keeping the American Army scattered from Boston to Philadelphia. They then sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and landed their

army at the head of Elk. I had by this time recovered my health and joined my regiment, which was on the march. We passed through the cities of Philadelphia and Wilmington, and halted and prepared to meet the enemy within two miles of the town of Newport, where the British army lay: this was on the 10th of September, 1777. The enemy moved in the evening, not to attack us where we were, but to get round our right flank. Washington perceiving their intent, moved our army in the night, and we crossed the River Brandywine at daylight the next morning, the most of our army fording at Chads'-ford; but Gen. Stirling's division, composed of Gen. Maxwell's brigade of New Jersey troops, and Gen. Conway's brigade of Pennsylvania troops, crossed at Brinton's ford, about two miles above, when we, in sight of the ford, laid on the leaves in the woods in a line on our arms to rest and wait for orders.

About ten o'clock a messenger came with the information that the main British army was on the road leading to Jeffrey's ford, about three miles above Brinton's, and that part of their army had been ordered to proceed to Chads'-ford, and to make a feint of crossing at that place to keep our army there, while they made a landing above. Upon this Washington ordered Gen. Stirling's division to go up and hold the enemy at Jeffrey's ford as long as possible, while he recrossed the river and attacked that part of their army that was sent there. Two brigades had recrossed, and the rest of our army was on the move to join them, when another messenger came and said the British troops that were

seen on their march for Jeffrey's ford were only a small party sent up to draw up and divide our army, so that the main British army could easily force their way over at Chads'-ford. Washington thinking the two Brigades that had recrossed would be in great danger, ordered them back, and directed Stirling's Division to halt for further orders. In less than one hour the third messenger came and said the main British army had actually crossed above, and were on their march down the river on the East side. Gen. Stirling was ordered up to meet them; on going half a mile we met them at Birmingham Meeting House, two miles below where they crossed. It was supposed by many of our officers that the second messenger was in the British interest, and gave that information to divide the American army and give the enemy the advantage, which proved to be the case. The enemy outnumbering us four to one, turned our right flank and broke us off platoon after platoon. When we had to give way, the enemy in our front was so much cut up they did not follow us. We got off all our wounded, the enemy put theirs in the Meeting House, and remained there the next day to bury the dead. Two men, Jeremiah McMahan and Ezekiel Jobs, were severely wounded near me; they both recovered. My father was also severely wounded in the thigh. I took him that night from the battle ground to near the town of Darby, where we stayed until morning, then through Philadelphia to one of my uncles in New Jersey. When we stopped to dress his wound, and unbuttoned his breeches at the knee, the bullet, which had been flattened on

one side by striking the bone, rolled down on his boot. I believe one of my sisters has it now. On our retreat we met a Virginian division coming to assist us, but it was too late; I believe they were not engaged with the enemy that day. This account of the battle at Brandywine does not agree with some statements written of that engagement, but what I have written respecting it I believe to be true. There was harder fighting at Chads'-ford, where Gen. La Fayette was wounded. The American army being scattered, the enemy had the advantage.

After they obtained possession of Philadelphia, I went with my father to Reading in Pennsylvania. I joined the regiment at White Marsh a short time after the battle at Germantown. Our brigade was ordered to cross the river at Schuylkil, and break up a redoubt the Hessians were building near Gray's ferry, opposite Philadelphia. We were ordered to attack the fort on three sides at once, North, South and West; I had the middle forlorn hope on the West; they, hearing we were coming to attack them, left the fort and crossed over the Schuylkil River to Philadelphia. On our return we heard the explosion and saw fragments flying in the air of the British ship of war which blew up near Mud Island Fort. We then went into winter quarters, and built log huts at Valley Forge, where the whole army suffered for want of provision and clothes. I was sent with a scout of 26 men on a very cold night; the ground had been very muddy, and having frozen suddenly, was very rough, there was not a pair of shoes in the detachment;

blankets were cut up and put around the feet of some of the men, but soon were worn out so that their feet came to the ground, and they could be tracked by the blood. We came to a farmhouse about 10 or 11 o'clock about 15 minutes after an English scout had left the house; the men of the house were away, the women said if we stayed the English, they were afraid, would return and kill us. I told her we came to meet them if they were out, and were not afraid of them. I let the men lay in the fresh straw in the barnyard near an hour to rest themselves. I told the woman I wanted her to give the men some bread and milk that the English had left.

She with reluctance gave each of them some. She would not tell where the men belonging to the house were. I expect they were gone to the city with provisions to market. She appeared to me to be in the British interest, as no one called or known to be a Whig would stay and live so near the British army, as the Tories, who were worse than the English, would butcher them. We followed the road from this farmhouse to the river, then up the river road to our encampment at Valley Forge, where we arrived a little after daylight.

My father had now recovered sufficiently to join his regiment. After we received a partial supply of clothing, my father was ordered to take his regiment across the River Delaware and make a stand at Haddonfield, about seven miles from Philadelphia, to watch the enemy and prevent them getting any supplies from that side of the river. The English could not remain in that city much longer, unless they should get supplies

from the country. Our patrols stopped a great quantity of provisions going to the British.

General Washington and Congress were trying to increase the army that he could prevent the enemy from returning to New York, and they were becoming uneasy in their situation, as our army was getting fairly supplied with clothing.

I have thought of an occurrence which happened on the 11th of September, 1777, the day of the battle at the Brandywine. In the morning of that day of the battle a division of the enemy came near Brinton's ford while we lay in the woods near the ford; they discovered us, and fired several bombshells at us, which burst in the tree tops near where we were. As we had been marching four or five days and all one night, some of our officers obtained a pig, with the intention of barbecuing it, that we might have one good meal, as we expected hard work before night. When the messenger came at about ten o'clock (as I mentioned before), informing us that the main body of the enemy was on the road to Jeffrey's ford, we expected to be ordered soon to meet them; the roasting pig was examined, it was yet quite raw, we cut off slices and roasted them before the fire. But Captain Stout of our regiment could not eat any; he was asked if the enemy's bombshells that burst over our heads had taken away his appetite. He replied: "No, gentlemen, you know me better than that, but since I came to this ground I am satisfied that I shall not eat another mouthful or see the light of another day, but you will see

that I will do my duty as well as any of you." After we met the enemy and the engagement commenced, a cannon ball went through Captain Stout and through a Sergeant that stood behind him and killed both of them. This I know to be truth— I heard that a Captain Ashton of the British army told this story after that battle was over. When they were marching down on the east side of the river Brandywine from Jeffrey's ford and in view of the Birmingham Meeting House, Captain Piercy of the British army said that the scenery before him was as familiar to him as the scenery at his native place in Northumberland (in England); it had come before him at the twilight and in his slumbers over and over again, and added, "I know I am to die here." The battle soon commenced, and Captain Piercy received a mortal wound; he was taken to the Meeting House, and died before night in the presence of Capt. Ashton. The British buried the next day Colonel Gordon and Capt. Piercy of the English army and Capt. Stout of the American army in one grave.

Finding the enemy in Philadelphia were preparing for a move, Gen. Washington sent Gen. Maxwell with the rest of his Brigade to join us. While he prepared our army to move after or to meet them, Maxwell came to Mount Holly, where my father joined him. Maxwell was informed that the enemy was fitting out an expedition to plunder the inhabitants between the mouth of Rancocas River and the city of Burlington before they left Philadelphia, and sent me with twenty-six men to pass down Rancocas to the Delaware,

then up to Dunk's ferry, and try to stop them if they came. I patrolled all the night, but they did not come, and I returned through Burlington to Mount Holly the next morning and joined the regiment. The enemy soon after crossed their whole army over the Delaware at Philadelphia, and began their march toward New York. When they approached near Mount Holly I was sent off with the baggage of the Brigade (I believe in six wagons) to pass through Bordentown and Trenton, then on the road towards Princeton, there wait at the Red Barracks until the enemy had passed Allentown towards Monmouth Court House, as it appeared they would take that road. Gen. Washington was on his march and crossing the River Delaware at Howell's and Creell's ferry above Trenton with his main army. When he with the army crossed the road leading from Trenton to Princeton towards Monmouth Court House, I followed him with the baggage that I had under my care, and stopped at Englishtown, a small village three miles north of the Court House. General Washington met the enemy near the Court House, where he had a general engagement with them. The British left the field of battle and retired to their former encampment; Washington kept his ground, he had planned the action well, and if General Lee had obeyed and executed his orders, Washington would in all probability have destroyed and taken the most, if not all of the enemy at that place. This action occurred on the 27th of June, 1778. After the battle the British left their dead and the most of their wounded on the battle ground,

and took their flight in the night. Gen. Washington lay wrapped in his cloak under a tree with his troops on the battle ground all night, waiting for light to renew the engagement, but the enemy had fled. The day of the action was so exceedingly hot that many soldiers of both armies fell dead from the great heat and the want of water. Lee, was for disobedience of orders, deprived of his command and sent home. The day after the battle I joined the Brigade with the baggage. After I reached the battle ground I halted at a Presbyterian Meeting House and barn, both filled with wounded men of the American and English; the surgeons of both armies (the enemy had left several), after having been twenty-four hours dressing the wounded, had not got through. After the dead were buried we remained a few days to refresh the men. The enemy had got so near to Sandy Hook they were protected by their shipping, and as our men were much fatigued it was not proper to follow them with the whole army.

The enemy in a few days reached New York. Our army then went to the west and north of New York, the New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Gen. Wm. Maxwell, took our former station between Amboy, through Woodbridge, Elizabethtown and Newark, where we remained through the summer, the following winter and the forepart of the summer of 1779. We had many skirmishes with the enemy during this time; they at one time came in force and burnt the barracks at Elizabethtown, and in June their Gen. Knyphausen, with about eight thousand troops, passed about

seven miles into the country, and burnt a little village called Connecticut-farms; after plundering the inhabitants and killing the wife of Parson Colwell and burning his house near Springfield, they returned to Elizabethtown, losing many men, killed and wounded, and sergeant, corporal and twelve men taken prisoners. I had the Camp Guard with twelve Tories confined, and Gen. Maxwell sent me to Chatham, a village three miles west of Springfield, with the Tories and the English prisoners, where I remained about a week, and then took them to Morristown, put them in jail, and joined the regiment on the lines near where General Knyphausen lay at Elizabethtown.

After the British Gen. Clinton arrived at New York from Charlestown in South Carolina with troops, Gen. Knyphausen, being reinforced, came out with nine or ten thousand men to destroy our stores at Morristown. Maxwell had but about fifteen hundred men, but the militia and Gen. Green with troops came to our assistance. My father's regiment, with Col. Angel's regiment of Rhode Island troops, contended with the enemy at the bridge east of the town of Springfield; after their pioneers had relaid the bridge and crossed over, we were forced to retire to the bridge west a quarter of a mile, of the town and in fair view of it, where we met Gen. Greene and several thousand militia. The enemy burnt all the town, but two or three houses belonging to Tories, and retreated rapidly to Elizabethtown and crossed over to Staten Island. We followed them, but no engagement was brought on. The inhabitants residing on the road said

they had thirty wagons on their retreat, all filled with their dead and wounded. I know they left some of their dead in Springfield. I lost one man killed within two steps of me in my platoon, and received a slight wound in one of my legs; this engagement took place on the 27th of June, 1779. We continued in that neighborhood until the latter end of August, when we were ordered to march to the Susquehanna and join Gen. Sullivan, who had been ordered to chastise the Indians and Tories who massacred the inhabitants on the Susquehanna the year before. We arrived at Wyoming (now Wilkesbarre) in September, then proceeded up the river to the mouth of the Chemung branch, where the town of Athens now is. At Wyoming we were joined by troops that came up the river that from Northumberland, and by troops came down the river from the state of New York. While we waited here for the latter troops our Brigade marched up the river Chemung twelve miles in the night to an Indian town by that name; we arrived at daylight. The Indians laid in ambush, and killed one of our men by my side (he touched me when he fell) and wounded several, one of them died. We knew of but one Indian killed; we burnt their town (ten or twelve houses), cut down several acres of good corn, and returned down the river, carrying corn, pumpkins, garden truck and the dead and wounded men in several boats that we had taken up the river, and arrived at our encampment in the afternoon. After remaining here a few days, my father was ordered with a detachment to build a stockade fort at a place about two or three miles

up the two rivers, Susquehanna and Chemung, where they pass each other within about one hundred yards. I was left with this detachment. The fort was called Fort Sullivan; it was nearly four square, about 90 yards one way and a little under the other way, and was built by digging a trench $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and placing upright logs in the trench about twelve feet high, leaving two or three gateways. After leaving the heavy baggage and the woman that belonged to the camp, Gen. Sullivan marched up the Chemung River to the Indian settlement in the northwest part of New York State, called Genesee country, inhabited by several tribes of Indians and tory white men, who were under the influence of the English, and hired by the British Government to burn the property and kill the American men, women and children, by offering a reward for all the scalps they could take; our army killed some of them and lost several men in several skirmishes, burnt their town and destroyed their corn and other property, but could not bring the Indians and tories to a general engagement; the British had troops with the Indians. After destroying all that could be found, our army returned to Fort Sullivan; we left the Fort and passed down the River to Wyoming the last of October. We kept the boats in order until their return. I had four boats under my care going up and steered one of them. Our Brigade then crossed the great swamps at the head of the Lehigh River, a branch of the Delaware, marched through Easton, and passed the winter near Morristown in New Jersey.

I got leave of absence, and went to

school about two months and boarded at my uncle's, Thomas Curtis, in Burlington County. I joined the regiment before the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1780. We then took our former station on the lines, and had frequent skirmishes with the British on Staten Island at Strawberry Hill, Ash Swamp, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, Newark, Passaic and in Bergen, and passed the summer of 1780 in that way. When the enemy sent a twenty gun ship up the River Hudson, conveying their Adjutant General John Andre (the spy), she came to anchor at the head of Tappan Bay, about seven miles below West Point; Andre landed, had an interview with Major General Benedict Arnold, who conducted him to West Point Forts, and gave him a plan of the forts and public works. When the ship took her station so near the highlands and so near the Fort, the New Jersey Brigade was ordered up the river to the little village of Orangetown near the river; here we met Gen. Greene with several Brigades of New England troops. I was ordered with a sergeant, corporal and twenty-four privates to take a stand on the west bank of the bay, nearly opposite where the ship lay, and watch her motions, and prevent her having intercourse with the shore on that side of the river. I was then about three miles above Orangetown, and was to remain there one week unless sooner recalled; after being there a few days, I saw a barge, with four oarsmen and two men sitting in the stern sheets, rowed to the ship; she immediately weighed anchor, made sail and passed down the river, with a full band of music playing; be-

fore she got out of sight another boat came out of the narrows from West Point, rowed by four men, and with two sitting in the stern; she passed on by me and landed at the mouth of a small stream called the Slote, which comes down from Orangetown. She was the guard boat from West Point, commanded by Lieutenant Joseph Edes, with information to General Greene that Major John Andre, the Adjutant General of the British Army, a spy, had been taken on a horse within a short distance of the British lines, with a plan of the forts and works in the handwriting of the traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold; Major Andre gave his name as John Anderson, and had a pass from Arnold with that name. He was taken by three militia men, and conveyed to an American officer at an outpost, who suffered him to write a letter to Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, informing him that he was taken prisoner; and it was the traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold that I saw making his escape to the British ship. I was then recalled, and joined the regiment; General Washington returned at that time from Rhode Island, where he had an interview with the French Admiral De Grasse. Gen. Washington then sent the spy, Major John Andre, to Orangetown to Gen. Greene, and called on the Governor of the State of New York for the militia to keep possession of West Point, not knowing the extent of the conspiracy among the troops that Gen. Arnold had under his command. Washington sent them to Gen. Greene, and followed himself as soon as he had made preparations to repair the breaches that Arnold had

made in several of the fortifications while the spy John Andre was there; his excuse for this being that he wanted to make alterations for their better security. After Gen. Washington arrived at Orangetown, where the greatest part of our army was collected to resist an expected attack of the British upon West Point, he ordered a Court Martial of general officers to try Major Andre; they pronounced him a spy, and sentenced him to be hanged. General Washington approved the sentence, and appointed a day for its execution. The prisoner was guarded by a Captain, two subalterns and sixty privates. I was not on duty the day of execution, and when the guard moved from the place of confinement with the prisoner, I joined them: we passed to the north to a cross street, then wheeled to the west, which brought us in view of the gallows and of a great number of citizens and soldiers collected to see the execution. Andre did not appear to be in the least confused, and was in a familiar conversation with the Captain and one of the other officers of the guard—one walking on each side of him between the two platoons formed of the guard. On looking forward and seeing the gallows, Andre broke off from conversation and said, "I am fully reconciled to my fate, but am disappointed in the mode;" he had petitioned Washington to be allowed to die like a soldier, he could not bear the idea of dying on a gibbet; he then recommenced conversation. When we arrived at the place of execution my father had the command of the detachment that formed a square around the gallows to keep off the crowd, and

opened to the right and left to let us through; there was a wagon standing under the gallows with a coffin in it, and Andre stepped up into it. Gen. Parsons of our Army was officer of the day; he rode near and read the sentence of the Court Martial against him, and looking at his watch said, "Major Andre, you have fifteen minutes to live, if you anything to say, you can say it." Andre replied, "I have nothing to say, but this is for you to bear witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." He then took two white handkerchiefs out of his pocket, pulled off his scarlet coat and handed it to his servant, telling him to put it in his trunk. The man obeyed, going to the house where the trunk was, the tears running down his cheeks as he went. The wagon moved to let Andre swing clear; I have seen several men hung, but he flounced about more than any one I ever saw. When dead he was taken down, put in the coffin and driven under an escort to the landing place at the river, where a boat belonging to the enemy was waiting by permission, and took the corpse of Major Andre to New York City, and arrived with it at the British camp before midnight. His body was not buried under or near the gallows, as some historians have asserted. Within a few days after the execution of the spy the New Jersey Brigade, under General Wm. Maxwell, marched to West Point and relieved the New York Militia; they had repaired the breaches that the traitor Arnold had caused to be made in the fortifications. My father was ordered with the Second New Jersey Regiment to go down near the lines of the

enemy on the east side of the River to protect a brigade of wagons that went down to bring up a quantity of forage that it was supposed the inhabitants were preparing to take to the enemy in the city of New York. I had the Piquet Guard the night we laid nearest the enemy; the wagons were loaded and moved on their return; we followed and came up to them before night, halted, put out a guard and laid down in a line on the long grass in a meadow that had not been cut. We had been marching three days and having no sleep the night before, as I had the advance guard, I slept all night. When waked to march after the wagons that had been driven all night, I found myself covered with snow, and did not know that it had been falling.

The next evening we reached West Point. The British came out after us, but I suppose the snow storm stopped them, as they did not come up with us. After remaining at West Point a few days, we were relieved by the other troops, and returned to our former station at and above Newark and Elizabethtown. General Washington, preparing to drive the Enemy from the city of New York, had collected about sixteen thousand troops for that purpose within twenty-five miles of the city, but our purchasing commissaries failing to bring on provisions, we were for several days without anything to eat but damaged salt pork, and but half allowance of that; for two days without even that. Washington knowing soldiers could not be kept idle in camp without anything to eat, marched the army down the river towards the enemy's lines, where there

were no inhabitants but those in the British interest, for if any of the inhabitants must be plundered, those should suffer who had for years been supplying New York with all the provisions they could procure. After we halted in the evening, one man in the company that I commanded asked liberty of me to go and see a friend who lived in the neighborhood; saying he had not seen him for some time, and that he would return before nine o'clock. I promised to excuse him at roll-call. He returned about eight o'clock, and gave my cook several pounds of excellent beef without saying how he got it. After provisions arrived at our former camp, our army returned to our former place of encampment, and the man who gave me the beef told me that he and another soldier saw two men killing a steer, they supposed, to take to the enemy; he told the men they were butchers also and would help them to skin the steer; they each took a slice and returned to camp. I suppose that was the friend he wanted to see. While our army had to wait for provisions, the enemy by calling in their outposts strengthened their position in New York, and this I suppose was the reason our army did not attack them.

After manœuvring and fighting several years, the two armies, our own and the enemy, went into winter quarters nearly on the same ground they occupied two years before. Our Brigade went into winter quarters by building huts at Mendham, near Raritan River, between Brunswick and Springfield. In the latter part of winter the Pennsylvania troops revolted. When they rose, the

commissioned officers opposing them, the rioters killed a lieutenant, and left their encampment and took up their quarters in Princetown. The enemy thought to persuade them to join the British army by offering to commission officers of their own appointment, and sent spies to negotiate with them; and to the honor of the revolters they said, their attachment to the cause of liberty was as strong as ever, and sent the spies to General Washington for trial, saying if the enemy sent an army to persuade them to join the British, they would fight them to the last man under their own officers. The Legislature of Pennsylvania sent commissioners to ascertain their grievances; they said it was the want of pay and good clothing. The commissioners, with the commissioned officers of their regiment, satisfied them, and they returned to duty. Towards spring the New Jersey troops revolted also. The Legislature sent commissioners, who, together with my father, prevailed with them to return to their quarters, and if to their duty, promising that they should not suffer, and that the State would see that they should be supplied with pay and clothing. The revolters did return to their quarters, but the most of them refused to be subordinate to their officers. General Washington was determined to make an example of some of them, and had the leaders of the three regiments tried for their conduct. Two sergeants were condemned and shot, one of the First and the other of the Third Regiment. My father got the leaders of his regiment (the Second) clear.

Many of the men had enlisted to serve three years or during the war, but neither was designated. Some who had served three years claimed the privilege of leaving the service, and were discharged. The number of men being reduced, Congress ordered the men of one of the three New Jersey regiments to be distributed between the other two. My father being very fleshy, weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, left the service on half pay, and he thought, on account of the situation of our family, I had better leave the army also, as he had no available property left, not even being able to obtain what was due him from the Government. I left the army as he did. We rented a farm, and worked to support ourselves and the family. The same summer the capture of the British General Cornwallis and his army put an end to the war. That was the only engagement the New Jersey troops were in after I left the regiment.

The foregoing is not intended as a history of the Revolution, but merely as an account of the manner in which I passed the most of my time while I was in the army. I was in my minority the whole of the time, being but twenty-one years old at the close of that war.

I have written the foregoing narrative or statement, more than seventy years after the close of that war, from memory in the ninety-second year of my age, and without spectacles. Therefore I must be excused, as I cannot well transcribe and correct it, in letting it go as it is.

JOHN SHREVE

Near Salem, Ohio, Nov., 1853

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF JOHN
SHREVE

Near Salem, Ohio, Jan. 16th, 1854

* * * I thought I would mention a few occurrences, that I now recollect, that were omitted from my narrative.

Shortly after the battle of Lexington, when the British troops went from Boston to take possession of the military stores belonging to the then province of Massachusetts, the militia in the county where my father resided began to organize; they met at least once a week to learn military discipline, and elected my father Colonel of the battalion in the year 1774; and in the year 1775, shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular service.

I will now mention what I understood from the conversation among the officers of our brigade concerning General Lee.

I believe it was before the British army took possession of Philadelphia, General Lee, with but one of his aides-de-camp, went to spend the day and dine with an acquaintance near the British lines; while at dinner a troop of British light-horse surrounded the house and took Lee prisoner. Washington had many captains and lieutenants prisoners that he took at Trenton and Princeton, but the British commander refused to exchange Lee unless Washington had one of the same rank. An American officer, who was acquainted in Rhode Island, knew where a British general quartered in that island, and procured a whale-boat and competent

men, who were used to row in rough water, and with a suitable number of chosen men, put out in the bay, and passed with muffled oars through the British fleet that was anchored near the Island, landed on the Island, took the sentinel prisoner, captured the General and pulled him out of bed, hurried him to the boat, and returned through the enemy's fleet in safety and landed with the prisoner on the Connecticut shore. Washington exchanged him for Lee shortly before the enemy left the city of Philadelphia.

After they left the city Washington came up to them at Monmouth Court-House. When the British General called a council of war some of the German troops opposed the risking a general battle; they were sent as a guard for their baggage to the forks of the roads, one leading to Middletown point and Sandy Hook, the other to Amboy—Washington called a council of war, General Lee opposed risking a general engagement, saying, British troops could not be conquered. All the others of the council, I believe, excepting one, whose name I have forgotten, were in favor of a general action. Washington then gave the officers the plan of attack. Lee, with his division of Virginians and one other division, the New Jersey brigade with them, was ordered to attack the rear-guard of the enemy on the west, and press on them and bring the main army to their assistance, not to retire until they drove him by force, and then he, Washington, with the main army, would march in between the British army and their baggage. As soon as the general action commenced General

Morgan, with his riflemen and our militia, were ordered to attack the Hessians and drive the baggage towards the town of Cranberry.

Lee disobeyed the orders, and suffered the English rear-guard, with not half the number of men that Lee had, to drive him. The British general then knew that Washington was not there, he went out north and met Washington late in the afternoon. After being engaged near half an hour the enemy retreated, and left their dead and wounded on the field. Washington sent his aid-de-camp three times to know why Lee did not press on the enemy. Lee said, "tell the General I am doing well enough." My father heard him say it. Washington called a court of inquiry on proof that Lee disobeyed general orders; he was suspended from his command for one year. The officers of our brigade knew he disobeyed orders, and some of them thought he was a traitor, but it could not be proven.

About the time Major Andre, the British spy, was brought a prisoner to the American camp General Washington was to have returned from Rhode Island to West Point, and it was reported in camp among our officers that one or two tories, having men in disguise, lay in ambush to surprise Washington, and convey him to the British ship that Andre came up in, and traitor General Arnold made his escape to, and she was detained for that purpose. As soon as Andre would have arrived in New York the British ships were ready to ascend the river with troops and take possession of West Point fort. Andre being taken the plan was broken up. After Andre was

sentenced to be hung, I was told that he sent two or three notes, requesting an interview with the General, who declined to see him. If Washington had gone to see him, what would have been the consequences, as they were both Free-Masons?

Twenty-two years after General Arnold had made his escape I chartered a vessel at New Orleans to take flour to the West Indies. On the passage I found the captain of the vessel to be the same Lieutenant Edes that commanded the guard boat that followed traitor Arnold from West Point fort, and took the information of Andre being captured and Arnold's escape to General Greene at Orangetown. Captain Edes told me he could have taken General Arnold, but he thought it best to let him go. Were they not both Free Masons? Arnold certainly had some one or more that aided in the conspiracy.

After our brigade relieved the New York Militia at West Point, it was discovered that several of the cartridges prepared for the cannon in each fort had two or three inches of ashes in the lower end to prevent the fire from the tube igniting the powder.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Mr. Shreve was wounded at the battle of Springfield, N. J., receiving a buckshot in one of his legs, which he carried to the day of his death. While the army was entering at Valley Forge, the soldierly bearing, bravery and intelligence of this lad, then only 14 years of age, shown in the different scouting expeditions sent out under his command, so won the admiration of a number of ladies then visit-

ing the army, among them an English lady, Miss Claypole, ardently devoted to the American cause, that, with the approbation of General Washington, they presented him with an exceedingly beautiful and valuable buckle, set with precious stones, for his sword belt. This buckle is now in the possession of one of his granddaughters, to whom he gave it with the warning—"Don't let it fall into disloyal hands."

Mr. Shreve married in 1786 Abigail, daughter of Solomon and Mary Ridgway, of Burlington county, N. J., and in 1788 moved to the western part of Pennsylvania, where he purchased a farm. In addition to farming, he was also engaged in the "Mississippi Trade." He purchased large quantities of flour on the Monongahela River, and floating it down the Ohio and Mississippi in flat boats to New Orleans, shipped it thence to the West Indies, where he exchanged it for sugar, coffee and other productions of these islands, which he brought to New York for a market.

It was while living in Pennsylvania that in 1824 he met his old comrade in arms, Lafayette. They had been warm friends in the army, both being very young, and had a peculiar salute which they gave each other whenever they met. When the boat carrying Lafayette touched at Brownsville, the usual speeches and receptions awaited the distinguished visitor, who received them with great calmness until, noticing a tall figure in the crowd, he at once recognized it, gave the old familiar salute and held out both arms to embrace his old friend.

In one of his visits to the east, in Nov-

ember, 1796, Mr. Shreve dined for the last time with General and Lady Washington, the latter calling his attention to the dinner service, which had been presented to her husband by the Society of Cincinnati. This, with the breakfast and tea sets, comprised a thousand pieces. It was manufactured in China, and the ornamentation was in blue and gold. Each piece had upon it the coat of arms of the society held by Fame, and the eagle of the order. Mr. Shreve was a member of the society.

During his residence in Pennsylvania he was for many years an active member of the State Legislature, and filled various offices with credit to himself and advantage to the public. About the year 1825, his children having removed to Ohio, he went to that State, and made his home with them until his death, which occurred September 8, 1854, in the ninety-third year of his age.

In closing a biographical sketch of Mr Shreve, the Democratic Transcript of Ohio, of October 11, 1854, said :

"He was a man of vigorous intellect and strong memory; he was benevolent to a fault, and often contributed to relieve the wants of others beyond what his own necessities would strictly justify. He was an ardent friend of freedom—strongly devoted to the principles of liberty, for which he had fought and bled under Washington. We have thus noticed concisely as possible a few of the leading incidents in the life of one who served his country, both in peace and war, with a faithfulness that won the approbation of such men as Washington and Lafayette and the community in

which he resided. To his posterity he has left the inheritance of an unsullied reputation, of greater worth than the gold of California."

S. H. SHREVE.

NOTES

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE GIVEN TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—Prior to 1876, when a more correct account of the historical facts was presented by the Hon. James Birney, U. S. Minister of Legation at the Hague, the common opinion had been that the first salute was given by a French Admiral on the 14th February, 1778. But the facts set forth by that distinguished gentleman, in an article from his pen, which was published at Concord, State of New Hampshire, and printed by the Republican Press Association—as we have recently learned—show that the flag was first formally saluted by the Governor of St. Eustatius, a Dutch island of the West Indies. The former opinion is said to have been derived through Commodore Preble, from the Diary of Dr. Ezra Green. But a fuller development of this matter may probably soon appear. W. H.

ERSKINE.—Robert Erskine, who was sent out to Ringwood, N. J., by the London Company to superintend their Iron Mines in 1772, was "Geographer and Surveyor General to the Army of the United States," as his monument erected at Ringwood by order of Washington, says: He died October 2, 1780, aged 45 years, and left behind him a

charming and accomplished widow. The Marquis de Chastellux stopped at Ringwood December 19, 1789, and called on Mrs. Erskine. He says: "I entered a very handsome house where everybody was in mourning, Mr. Erskine being dead two months before. Mrs. Erskine, his widow, is about forty, and did not appear the less fresh or tranquil for her misfortune." (*N'en avait pas l'air moins frais et moins tranquille.*) In the Secretary of State's office at Trenton, N. J., there is filed the marriage bond of Robert Lettice Hooper, Jr., and Elizabeth Erskine, dated October 13, 1781—a year and eleven days after the death of her husband. She doubtless found it difficult to manage the extensive works at Ringwood alone, and Mr. Hooper appears to have been willing to assist her. On May 31, 1782, in the Council, as the upper branch of the New Jersey Legislature was then called, "a petition from Colonel Robert Hooper praying to have leave to bring in a Bill for securing the estate and appurtenances lately in the possession of Mr. Erskine in the management and care of the said Mr. Hooper and his wife, late Mrs. Erskine, and the survivor of them subject to such settlements, payments and conditions as shall be thought proper, was read and granted." On June 7 following "Mr. Cox, on behalf of Robert Lettice Hooper, Jr., brought in a bill pursuant to leave, entitled 'an act to vest Robert Lettice Hooper, the younger, and Elizabeth, his wife, and the survivor of them, with powers of agency to take charge of and manage the estate of the *American Company*, commonly so called, in the counties of Bergen and Morris

and elsewhere, in this State, for the purposes mentioned therein.'" The bill passed the Council on June 11th, and the Assembly on the 20th.

WM. NELSON.

Paterson, N. J.

NICHOLAS HERKIMER.—But four autographs of General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the Oriskany battle in 1777, are known to be in existence. One of these is owned by M. M. Jones, of Utica; one by Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer; a third by a gentleman in Buffalo; and a fourth by the Oneida Historical Society at Utica. The latter is such a unique document, and sheds so suggestive a light upon the character of the education possessed by General Herkimer, and upon the strange and mongrel Dutch-English language which was in current use in the Mohawk Valley during the revolution, and traces of which are still found there, that I have made a transcript of it for *The Magazine of American History*.

[COPY]

ser yú will order your bode!lgen do mercks immiedetlehd do ford eduard wid for das profiesen and amonieschen fied for an betell. dis jú will dú ben yúr berrell foram frind

Nicolas herchkeimer
to carnell pieder bellinger
ad de flats
ocdober 18, 1776.

Mr. Matthew D. Bagge translates this curious order as follows:

Sir:—You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward,

with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle. This you will disobey (at) your peril.

From (your) friend,

Nicholas Herkimer.

To Colonel Peter Bellinger, at the flats.

The order is written in a bold but blind hand, with no punctuation marks, and no capital letters except where indicated above.

The Colonel Peter Bellinger to whom this peremptory order was addressed was the colonel of one of the four regiments of Tryon County militia, and participated with his command in the battle of Oriskany. He was captured in that battle; and on the same night was compelled by Colonel St. Leger, together with Major Frey, who was also captured, to address a note to Colonel Gansevoort, commanding at Fort Stanwix, greatly exaggerating the disaster of Oriskany and counselling a surrender of the fort. General Herkimer undoubtedly knew how to spell his own name; and while the abbreviated form is well enough, in connection with the county christened in his honor, does not the fidelity of history require us, in speaking of the hero of Oriskany, to spell it Herckheimer?

Utica.

S. N. D. NORTH.

INTRODUCTION OF CAMELS IN AMERICA.—A pamphlet of eight pages (anonymous) was printed in Cuba in 1831, entitled, "Memoria sobre las inmensas ventajas que resultarian de introducir y generalizar en esta isla el uso de los Camellos."

J. C. B.

QUERIES

HAVRE DE GRACE.—In the Journal of Count de Fersen (Mag. Am. Hist. III. 438), he mentions the fact that when they arrived at the head of Chesapeake Bay, Aug. 6, 1781, they learned that Count de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake on the 3d.

Is not *Havre de Grace* named for this de Grasse, and should it not read *Havre de Grasse*, instead of *Havre de Grace*? The local pronunciation of the last name is always as if it were spelled *grass*, I believe. Can any one throw light upon the question?

R. S. ROBERTSON.

Fort Wayne, Indiana.

THE GAME OF BOSTON.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine give any information as to the origin of the game of cards called "Boston?" It is a comparatively insignificant matter but it is astonishing how little that is definite is recorded concerning the point in books of reference. My view is and I have seen it somewhere in print that it originated with the French officers on board the fleet which blockaded Boston harbor, and I want to substantiate or refute that idea. The terms used in the game are French, viz., Grande Misère; Petite Misère; Grande Misère ouverte; Petite Misère ouverte, &c. There are islands in Boston harbor, about Salem, and other places perhaps bearing the names of Independence, Great Misery and Little Misery—all terms used in the game. The Comte de Ségur in his memoirs gives Franklin the credit of introducing it, into the Salons of Versailles, with a political sig-

nificance; others connect it with the siege of Boston as originally American in origin, and the terms translated into French by Franklin, its *Miseries* and *Independence* relating to the phases of the siege. Later writers are in danger of obscuring its historical significance by calling it *Boast-on* and imply that it is of much older date. Larousse and Littré both refer to it in their dictionaries but not satisfactorily. Why could not Franklin have learned the game from the French officers and played it in France?

W. L.

Washington.

THE TUTELOS.—The Shawanoes or Shawnees, now inhabiting a section in the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, have two names for their neighbors, the *Senecas*. A portion of the Seneca tribe, which was or is perhaps now mixed with Tutelos are called by them Tutelégi, being the plural form of Tutele, while the other portion are not called Senekagi, as could be expected, but Natuegi, the plural form of natue. A Weyandot or Huron Indian is called by them Natuésa; the Weyandot tribe Natuésgi. These names are both of Algonkin origin and are identical with the tribal name of the Nottoways and the Nadowaisi or *Sioux*; their meaning is that of *enemy* and more especially that of "sneaking fiend," "enemy creeping up stealthily," as the term is explained by Odjibwes. The Potawat'mis call a Weyandot man Notue, the Weyandot tribe Notueg, the plural form of the above and this meant *snake* in their dialect.

Through the discovery of Horatio

Hale, Esq., the Tutelos have become of great ethnologic importance. This investigator has given an unmistakable proof of their Dakota affinity by studying their language, and although his manuscript is not yet in print, and the location in which the Tutelos are first mentioned in history is far distant from the present seats of the Dakota tribes, this parentage can no longer be doubted. Tutleésa is a *proper name of man* among the Senecas in the Indian Territory, and some Tutelos may still exist there speaking their *own* language. Can anybody who lives or has lived in that neighborhood state in these columns, whether some Tutelos still exist among the Senecas there, and perhaps give their names?

A. S. G.

Providence.

THE MAYFLOWER.—What became of the Pilgrims vessel Mayflower after it discharged its load at Salem, nine years after the landing at Plymouth.

Hartford.

C. D. W.

VIRGIL'S TEST OF SOILS.—Dr. Dodderidge in his Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, thus refers to Virgil's test of soils: "Judging from Virgil's test [*Viz.* Geo. lib. II. l. 230] of fruitful and barren soils, the greater part of this country must possess every requisite for fertility. The test is this: dig a hole of any reasonable dimensions and depth. If the earth which was taken out, when thrown lightly back into it, does not fill up the hole the soil is fruitful; but if it more than fill it up the soil is barren.

Whoever chooses to make this experiment will find the result indicative of the richness of our soil. Even our graves, notwithstanding the size of the vault, are seldom finished with the earth thrown out of them, and they soon sink below the surface of the earth."

Singular as this is I am inclined, from some experience, to think there is something in it. Can any reader of the Magazine throw any light on the subject?

I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

HOLLOWAY'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON ENGRAVED.—While in London three years ago, a dealer in old books, &c., presented me with a line engraving of Washington—the only one of the kind I have seen. It may be very rare, rare or common so far as I know. The whole picture is $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The portrait of Washington is in an oval (engraved) frame $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Underneath is a view $1\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. inscribed "Event of the 19th of Oct'r, 1781, at York Town, in Virginia"—and underneath "Gen'l Washington,"—"J. Holloway Direxet." The paper and engraving are old and the likeness of Washington is very different from any I recollect of seeing before. What is known of it.

Utica, N. Y.

M. M. JONES.

ROCHAMBEAU.—I have heard it stated that the heirs of Count de Rochambeau some years since made application to the United States Government for a pension in recompense of his services in the Revolution. Is this true?

IULUS.

New York.

REPLIES

JOHNNY CAKE.—(III, 451.) I think Col. Loudermilk and Mr. Craig are both in error concerning the origin of this name. In one of the Pennsylvania regiments of the revolution was an enlisted Indian by the name of Shawnee John. He was an adept at making corn-cake, and the name Johnny's cake was bestowed on them by the soldiers—a name which has come down to us through a century of years. There is a diary of the revolution in which this is noted, but I cannot remember where at the present writing.

W. H. E.

QUIDEN.—(III, 202-454.) This Indian name for "a ship or boat" is found in a list of "words learned of the Savages, in their language," which is appended to Rosier's Relation of Waymouth's Voyage, 1605, as printed by Purchas. These words, or most of them, belong to the Caniba dialect of the Abnaki language, the same that is represented in Rasles' Dictionary. Rasles gives "*aguiden*, canot," and "*amasur*, canot de bois." Both names are found, under dialectic variations, along the Atlantic coast, from Nova Scotia to Virginia. The former is the Micmac *kwiten* (Maillard), or *kwedun* (Rand), and the Virginian "*quintan*" and "*aquointan*" of Strachey, who tell us that the Indian boats, "which they call *quintans*, are very shapefull, *made of one piece of timber*," &c. (*Travails into Virginia*, p. 68.) In Southern New England, the more common—and, so far as I know, the only—name was *mushoon*, or *m'shun*, corresponding to the Abnaki *amasur*; according to Roger Williams, "an Indian

boat, or canow, made of a pine, oak, or chestnut tree." We have other forms, in the Massachusetts *meshawe*; Delaware *amockkol* (Zeisberger); Miami *missôlé* (Volney), and Illinois *missouri*; all meaning "canoe."

Both these names appear to be *general*, that is, to be applicable to any canoe, whether of bark or wood, "dug out" or framed. "Quiden" or *Aguiden* is derived from an Algonkin verb meaning "to float in" or "to be supported by water;" (Chippeway *agwindé* "it floats, being partly in the water," Baraga.) The derivation of *amasur* or *m'shoon* is not ascertained. Rastes and Roger Williams agree in translating it by "a canoe of wood;" but in some dialects it was used, with or without a prefix, for a *bark* canoe; e. g. Illinois *wicwes missuri*, "canot d'écorce" (Gravier).

J. H. T.

MINOT.—(III, 378.) An Indian basket. Massachusetts, *menota* (Wood, 1634), *manoot* (Eliot); Narrag., *mundte* (R. Williams); Pequot, *munnotgh*; Abnaki, *menoulé* (Rasles). Wood says, the Indian women gather "hempe and rushes . . . of which they make curious baskets; these be of all sizes from a quart to a quarter, in which they carry their luggage." (*N. E. Prospect*.) The name comes from a root meaning to carry a burden, and denotes "an instrument for carrying, or bearing." Some of these "great bags or sacks made of hempe," by the Narragansetts, would "hold five or six bushells."

Hartford, Conn.

J. H. T.

—Boyer's Dictionaire Royal, printed

in 1729, gives the word *minot*, measure containing half a mine; *mine*, measure containing half a sextier; sextier is not given. The revised edition of 1818 describes it as a vessel containing half a mine—a measure containing three bushels, as of salt, wheat, oats, &c.

IULUS.

—Under this word Littré, the latest French authority, says: "An ancient measure of capacity which contained the half of a *mine*, the equivalent of 39 litres. Minot flour—the kind which, intending for shipment, is packed in barrels.

Proverb.—We shall not eat a minot of salt together, that is, we shall not be long together.—I tell you, Sir, that I do not like such an answer and that we shall not eat a minot of salt together. *Hauteroche cocher supposé.* E. P.

—J. C. can find the word in Spier & Surrenne's French Dictionary. "Minot, n. m. (vieilli), a measure, 39 litres." A litre is 1.76 pint, a *minot* would therefore be slightly more than a bushel. Spier & Surrenne give as example: "Manger un minot de sel ensemble—to eat a peck of salt together." H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa.

—In reply to the Query of J. C., I would say, that a "minot" is a measure equal to three of our bushels. See any French Dictionary.

CLEMENT F. SMITH.

Kokomo, Ind.

—(III, 378.) Our modern Canadians call a bushel, *un minot* or *un menot* in

their language. Originally two *menots* was *un sac*, a bag, and the *menot* was a somewhat larger measure than a bushel. But I cannot tell whether their *sac* equalled Johnson's measure of a *bag*, three bushels, or not. C. P. MAES.

Monroe, Mich.

MUSCIPULA.—(III, 379.) This Latin poem was written by Edward Holdsworth, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and was first published, in London, 1709. For a brief memoir of the author—an eminent scholar—see Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii., p. 67. English translations have been made by Samuel Cobb (ob. 1713); R. Gostling (London, 1715); Dr. Edward Cobden, 1718 (published, London, 1757); R. Lewis, 1728; Dr. John Hoadly, 1737, printed in Dodsley's "Collection of Poems," vol. v, p. 258 (ed. 1758); and probably by Dr. Benjamin Young Prime, of Huntington, L. I., and New York, the author of "The Patriot Muse," and of the "other poems, in different languages, by an American," which were printed at Newburg, N. Y., in 1838, in the little volume mentioned by W. P.

The original Latin poem was reprinted, with R. Lewis's English version, at Annapolis, Md., in 1728, in a duodecimo of 52 pages, dedicated to Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, as the

"FIRST ESSAY
Of Latin Poetry in English Dress,
Which MARYLAND hath published from the Press."

A copy of this volume, lacking the title page, in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, was described in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. iv, p.

152, with a query as to its history, authorship and title. The title, with a reference to this description, is entered in the Am. Antiquarian Society's (Haven's) catalogue of Anti-Revolutionary Publications, under the year 1730. I have not seen a copy of the book itself, but the date of its publication is fixed, very nearly, by Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, who mentions his receipt of a copy in March, 1628-9, which was printed at Annapolis, "this year," and "one of the first things ever printed in that country" (!) See *Reliquiæ Hearniæ*, p. 768, and *Notes & Queries*, 2d Ser., v., 176. J. H. T.

Hartford, Conn.

—Cambromyomacia, or "The Mouse-Trap." In answer to the query of "W. P." in this year's June number of the *Magazine of American History*, as to the authorship of this curious old "Satirico-Epic," Latin poem, we here quote a "Postscript," pasted on the last preface-page of our copy (published by Dodd, of this city, in 1840), which certainly seems to decide the matter for all time, and reads thus: "*The Presbyterian*, of Jan. 20th, 1844, contains an article headed "*Suum Cuique*," from which the following extract is made: 'The "*Muscipula*" may be found in a collection of Latin Poems, published in London, entitled, "*Musæ Anglicanæ*," Vol. II, p. 106, where it is attributed to E. Holdsworth, of Magdalen College, Oxford. The *imprimature* of this work is dated 1691; the edition before me, which belongs to the Philadelphia Library, was printed in 1761." W. H.

Inwood, N. Y. City.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN AND CABINET KEEPER, NORTHERN DEPARTMENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1877-8. pp. 45. EDWIN MARTIN STONE, Librarian. [Providence, 1878.]

The worthy Librarian of this excellent institution congratulates himself and the Society, with good reason, on the good work of the official year. The papers were of an interesting and instructive character, and the treasures of the Society have been considerably increased. We regret that the Society has not yet seen fit to resume the printing of its collections, now for many years suspended. Each generation should do its full duty, and one volume each year is not too much to expect of the Rhode Island Society. The materials for history grow so rapidly that it is not well to postpone their preservation by publication.

In the report an account is given of the battle of Rhode Island. There it appears that the Rhode Island colored regiment, the first ever raised in the United States, was engaged; and as an appendix the protest of the American officers, dated August 22d, 1778, from their camp before Newport against the withdrawal of d'Estaing with the French fleet. In this it will be noticed that one of their reasons for such protest was that "the apprehension of Admiral Byron's being upon the coast was not well founded."

General Sullivan in his letter to Congress shortly after congratulated himself on the timeliness of his retreat, as one hundred sail of the enemy arrived in the harbor the morning after. It seems plain now that d'Estaing was fortunate in his withdrawal to Boston, and that the least delay would have led to his being absolutely blockaded, perhaps, indeed, captured by a superior force. The French navy showed courage enough, but the British had a better organization, and always contrived to throw a superior force upon any given point. Such was the case at Newport in 1778.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. 1791-1835. Published at the charge of the Peabody Fund. 8vo, pp. 581. Published by the Society. Boston, 1879.

Since the year 1855 the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society have been regularly published, and the issue already numbers fourteen volumes, but it is not until now that a beginning has been made in the printing

of the earlier records. This, the first of the important series, embraces the proceedings of the Society from January 24, 1791, when it was instituted, to March 26, 1835, inclusive. The committee of publication, which consists of Messrs. Charles Deane and Charles C. Smith, announce in their introduction that a second volume, containing the proceedings to the annual meeting in April, 1855, at which the administration of Mr. Savage as President concluded, and that of Mr. Winthrop, the present President, begun, will soon follow.

The honor of founding the Society, the oldest it is claimed of the character in the United States, is ascribed to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. The idea was proposed to him by John Pintard of New York, to whose literary taste and philanthropy New York owes many of its most important institutions of economy, charity, commerce and learning. Their first practical work was in the collection of books and manuscripts, and in the encouragement of the publication of a weekly paper called the *American Apollo*; a fac-simile of the proposal for which is given in the present volume. The *Apollo* ran for thirty-nine numbers, and contained under the same cover the proceedings of the Society. It then cut loose from the Society and assumed a newspaper form. Scattered through the present volume of proceedings are portraits of nine of the ten original members, who were the founders in 1791, one of which, that of James Sullivan, in steel, is admirable in its execution. The others are by heliotype process. There are numerous other interesting illustrations, fac-similes and views of houses occupied by the institution. The proceedings contain notices of the resident members, which make an excellent contribution to genealogical literature, and the volume closes with an elaborate and carefully prepared index.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. No. 1. 8vo, pp. 48. BIGELOW BROTHERS. Buffalo, January, 1879.

This initial publication of the Buffalo Society, which ranks among its members some of the best known historical investigators in the country, begins with the inaugural address of Millard Fillmore, delivered at American Hall, July 1, 1862. The curious investigator into the origin of names will here find the reason for that of Buffalo, and in the second of the papers in the collection an exhaustive disquisition on the origin of the name of Buffalo, read the next

year, 1863, by William Ketchum. In his opinion the buffalo ranged on the south shore of Lake Erie as far east as the foot of the lake, a fact which Mr. Fillmore doubted. The pamphlet ends with a poem, *The last of the Kah-Kwahs*, by David Gray, a story of the destruction of the "Nation Neutre," based on the historical investigations of O. H. Marshall, Esq., the best authority on the Indian local history of this interesting region.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 34. JOHNSON, SMITH & HARRISON. Minneapolis, 1879.

This department of the Minnesota Society was formed in April, 1879. At its next monthly meeting a letter of Rev. Gideon H. Pond was read, describing his life among the Sioux Indians at Lake Calhoun in the year 1834. This, the first paper in the pamphlet, is followed by an account of the Indian battle of Lake Pokegama in 1841, by Edmund F. Ely, formerly teacher of the mission school at that place. Next comes a memoir of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, followed by some minor papers, among which one by Edward S. Stebbins on the Stone Implements of the Aborigines found in Saratoga county and at the West.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1878-9. In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo. PRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, 1879.

We called attention last year (II. 59) to the extreme value of this admirable series of reports, in which, thanks to the simple arrangement, the movements of American commerce may be read at a glance. We invite a reference to the extracts from the preface to the volume for 1878, by which those we make from the present volume can be more easily understood. The trade summary for the fiscal and calendar year is thus given:

The total foreign imports into the United States, including specie and bullion, in the year ending June 30, 1878, amounted in value to \$466,872,846, of which New York received \$313,179,649, or sixty-seven per cent. The total domestic exports of the United States, including specie and bullion, amounted to \$722,811,815, of which New York sent \$338,992,748, or forty-seven and a half per cent. Of the total foreign trade, imports and exports (with foreign exports added, \$20,834,738), amounting to \$1,210,519,399, New York had \$664,996,269, or fifty-five per cent.

These comparisons are brought down to the close of the official year, but we add, for further information, that the total imports of merchandise into the United States for

the calendar year 1878 amounted to \$431,812,583, against \$480,246,300 in 1877, showing a decrease in 1878 of \$48,433,717. The total exports, domestic and foreign, for 1878 amounted to \$737,155,611, against \$650,302,412 in 1877, showing an increase in 1878 of \$86,853,199. The total foreign trade of the United States, exports and imports, exclusive of specie and bullion, for 1878, amounting to \$1,168,968,194, against \$1,100,548,712 in 1877, an increase of \$68,419,482.

The total imports into the port of New York, including specie and bullion, for the calendar year 1878 amounted to \$303,186,867, against \$329,088,868 in 1877, and the total exports, \$362,522,088, against \$326,431,140 in 1877—a total of trade for 1878 of \$665,708,955, against 655,520,008 in 1877, an increase of \$10,188,947.

The balance of trade of the United States with foreign nations is also noted.

It is of importance also to note that the aggregate value of exports over imports for the calendar year 1878, exclusive of specie and bullion—in other words, the *balance of trade* was in favor of the United States:

Exports, calendar year 1878.....	\$737,155,611
Imports do. do.....	431,812,583

Balance of trade, 1878.....	\$305,343,028
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In the subdivision, entitled coins, currency and banking, appear the following interesting paragraphs:

The resumption of specie payment gives an intense interest to the production and movement of gold and silver, on which it must solely depend, there being no possible control or check by Government or the banks, as in other specie payment countries, over the import or export of the precious metals by the increase or decrease of the price of discount, liberating or attracting money, as the turn of exchanges indicates with precise accuracy the changing centre of the balance of trade.

The Government reports show the production, as estimated by the deposits and purchases at the Mint, of gold and silver for the year ending June 30, 1878, to have been..... \$76,870,319
Imports during same period..... 29,821,314

Total.....	\$106,691,633
Exports and re-exports during same period, deducted.....	33,740,126

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1878... \$72,951,507

The year 1877, it will be remembered, was the *first* year since 1861 that we were able to retain any considerable portion of the annual product of our mines. The increase in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, was shown to be..... \$65,145,241
Add increase to June 30, 1878, as above... .. 72,951,507

Increase in fiscal years 1877-1878..... \$138,096,748

To arrive at the amount of coin in the country, we again take as the point of departure the estimate of the late Dr. Lindermann, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the country in the fall of 1873, an estimate acknowledged as essentially correct, and which can be verified to within a fraction of a million by tabular statements of the movements of the metals since the estimate of Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint in 1861, which is also authoritative.

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. Lindermann's estimate..... \$140,000,000
Production, 1873 to 1878..... 295,175,329
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1878..... 135,888,032

Total.....	\$571,063,361
Less exports, 1873-1878.....	305,171,182

In the country, June 30, 1878.....	\$265,892,179
Coin in country, June 30, 1877.....	\$192,940,672
Increase 1878.....	72,951,507
	<u>265,892,179</u>

To ascertain approximately the amount of coin in the country on the 1st of July, 1879, an addition must be made for the increase of the last six months:
Amount in the country, June 30, 1878. \$265,892,179
Estimated production to 1st
January, 1879. \$38,000,000
Imports to January 1879. 11,190,910

\$49,190,910
Less exports and re-exports,
July, 1878, to July, 1879. \$13,288,609

Increase, July, 1878, to January, 1879. 35,902,301

Amount of gold in country, January 1, 1879. \$301,794,480
The correctness of these figures is verified in another manner:

Coin in the Treasury, as per statement of the Public Debt, December 31, 1878. \$224,865,477
Coin held by the National Banks, as by the statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 31, 1878. 41,499,757
Estimate of coin in outside holding. 35,429,240

Total, January 1, 1879. \$301,794,480

This sum of three hundred millions in coin is the largest ever reported in the United States. Mr. Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury in 1854, in a table, entitled "Estimate of the amount of gold and silver in the United States at different periods," stated the amount for that year at two hundred and forty-one millions, the largest since the establishment of the Department. Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint, at Philadelphia, in a careful estimate made by the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, reported the amount on October 1, 1861, at from two hundred and seventy-five to three hundred millions.

It is this gradual increase in the coin reserve of the country which has made the transition from an irredeemable to a redeemable currency possible, and a continuance of this ratio of augmentation will still further strengthen the position of the Treasury.

The currency of the country may now be examined. By the official statement of the public debt, there were in circulation of old demand legal-tender notes and fractional currency, December 31, 1878. \$367,366,755
And by statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 31, 1878, National Bank notes. 303,506,470

Total currency in circulation, Jan. 1, 1879. \$670,873,225

Every decrease of the paper circulation will strengthen the financial situation of the country. It is a marked fact, that while it is the policy of the banks to pay gold coin to all that demand it, their own reserve of metal, notwithstanding the great increase of gold in the country and the Treasury, shows no increase, but rather a decline, while as yet *but little gold passes from hand to hand*. It is questionable whether it be the true policy of either the Treasury or the banks to diminish the uses of gold by any expedient. The more thoroughly it is made to replace paper in the daily transactions of the people, the greater the reserve in the country will be in time of need. It must never be forgotten that there is no other money than the precious metals, and that the circulating medium of the country is strong as it is strong in these precious metals, and weak as it is deficient in them. A gradual judicious funding of paper by the Government will soon restore coin to general circulation, *without causing any stringency in the money market*, and gradually re-instate a safe ratio between the paper circulation of the country and the foundation upon which it rests.

While the excellent judgment and remarkable ability of the Secretary of the Treasury have taken the best advantage of favorable circumstances in the funding of the debt and the resumption of specie payment, it must be remembered that neither the legislation of Congress nor the ability of the Secretary, nor the hearty concurrence of the banks, could have effected the transition safely but

for the fact that a continuous balance of trade in favor of the United States has permitted us to retain our product of coin for two years, so completely that there is now in the vaults of the Treasury alone, without any regard to the amount held by banks or individuals, thirty millions more of coin than existed in the country a year ago.

It is our plain duty to take advantage of this opportunity to secure an absolute ground of safety, as it may not be long offered, in the rapid change which seems to be the normal condition of modern society. Moreover, a strict adherence to a policy which will replace our paper currency with gold and silver, will soon give us the control of the money market, and make the United States not only the commercial, but the financial center of the world.

To these remarks we add, that immigration also has again resumed something of its old activity, and now promises steady increase. But lately Lord Beaconsfield declared France and the United States to be at present the most prosperous countries in the world. Certain it is that this country has never been in a position so independent and satisfactory as now on the resumption of specie payments. It only needs that we be true to the recognized principles of political economy and finance to realize with a rapidity, which is difficult to measure, the most sanguine hopes of ourselves and of our friends.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 20, 1879, on the occasion of the Presentation of a Silver Medal to the Hon. Eli K. Price, President, in commemoration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Foundation of the Society. 8vo, pp. 16. Philadelphia, 1879.

On this occasion a medal of silver was presented to the President, bearing on the obverse his portrait, and on the reverse the seal of the Society, a copy of which is given in the text of the pamphlet. The crest is a precise copy of an Athenian owl from a coin of the Greek city. The dies for the medal were cut by William H. Key of the United States Mint. The presentation address was delivered by Dr. Daniel G. Brenton, to which fitting reply was made by Hon. Eli K. Price; and the formal proceedings closed with remarks by Mr. Charles Henry Hart. The value of medals in permanent and faithful transmission of physical individuality was strongly asserted.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS. By AD. F. BANDELIER. From the Eleventh Report of the Peabody Museum. 8vo. Printed at the Salem Press, Salem, 1878. In this second paper, by the skillful hand which prepared that on the warlike organization

of the Mexican tribes, the results are presented of an investigation of their progress in so much of political economy as related to the tenure and distribution of the soil, accompanied, as in the preceding paper, with abundant notes from all accessible authorities. Joseph de Acosta, the Jesuit father, a learned authority of the sixteenth century, asserts that the relations and memories of the Mexicans do not go back farther than four hundred years; and Mr. Bandelier concurs in the opinion that the twelfth century is the limit of definite tradition. Behind this period it is only known that Mexico was overrun by sedentary as well as nomadic tribes of a common origin, whose earlier home lay to the north of Mexican territory. Of the sedentary tribes, the Toltecs were the most conspicuous, yet they had not reached the condition of a State; political society, based on territory or landed property, being unknown to them. Their institutions were democratic, their manner of living communal, and in no way feudal, as has been held. Savage tribes roamed over the high table-lands, living by the chase in nomadic fashion, while small groups, from the same "North" which gave them origin, gradually settled in the beautiful valley below, near the watersheds in its center. These independent groups all spoke dialects closely related to that of the Toltecs, their predecessors. In the confused history of the principal of these tribes, the Tezucucans, Tecpanecans and Chalcas, it can only be discovered that the first two had each one and the latter two head war chiefs, elected for life, assisted by councils elected by the people; while the distribution of land, far from being by feudal tenure, was ordered by the Calpulli or kinships, who dwelt under one common roof, and was communal living. Such was the tenure in the period of the greatest power of Mexico. Nowhere was the notion of public domain or governmental lands current among the tribes. The entire groups were entitled the Soil of the Tribe. Precisely similar was the tenure of lands in Peru when the Spaniards first noticed their customs.

When Cortes conquered the territory it was raised by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI., May 4, 1493, to a domain of the Spanish throne, and granted to the King of Spain as a perpetual fief. Then the old order of occupation of the soil, for the idea of ownership never entered the Indian mind, was changed for a feudatory tenure, to which they ignorantly assented. After the fall of the pueblo of Mexico, Cortes established the system of Repartimientos, a mode established in the life-time of Columbus, under a Patent of July 22, 1497, which authorized him to distribute lands among the Spanish settlers for their own use and exclusive ownership, which was later added to by an act of Columbus, on his own

authority, to the effect that the Indians should work such lands for the benefit of those to whom he had given them; the beginning of Mexican serfdom.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST UNITED STATES FLAG AND THE PATRIOTISM OF BETSY ROSS, THE IMMORTAL HEROINE THAT ORIGINATED THE FIRST FLAG OF THE UNION. Dedicated to the Ladies of the United States. By Col. J. FRANKLIN REIGART. 8vo, pp. 25. Harrisburg, Penn., 1878.

Some years since William J. Canby, the grandson of Mrs. John (Betsy) Ross of Philadelphia, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a paper on the Centennial Anniversary of the American Flag, in which he claimed that his grandmother was the first maker of the Stars and Stripes. She lived in Arch street, and was for many years engaged in the business of flag making. In this monograph Col. Reigart asserts that her bright colored tapestry, ornamental handiwork and curtains in primary colors attracted the notice of the members of Congress, and that at the request of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Robert Morris and Col. George Ross, her brother-in-law, she designed and made the first flag of the United States, which was approved and adopted by the committee and Congress. In addition to this, Betsy Ross first gave a name to our youthful country by marking on her flags the "United States of America." In the paper we find no authority for these statements, nor yet any confirmation in the histories of the Flag by Preble and Hamilton. Nevertheless Col. Reigart insists that the "statue" of Betsy, "surrounded by a group of her daughters and nieces, cutting, sewing and making the Star-Spangled Banners, must soon grace the Capitol of our nation, and the patriotic ladies of America will design, erect and pay for it. To the account are appended sundry patriotic songs and appeals said to have been written and circulated by Mrs. Ross during the revolution from her shop in Philadelphia. On the cover of the pamphlet is a colored fac-simile of the first flag, and within a portrait of "Mrs. Betsy Ross the Author," with scissors and bunting, busy at her work.

THE HISTORY OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. By BAXTER PERRY SMITH. 8vo, pp. 474. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. [The Riverside Press.] Cambridge, 1878.

"The germ of Dartmouth College," writes the author of this history of the famous institution, which bears upon its rolls the illustrious names of Daniel Webster and Salmon P. Chase,

"was a deep-seated and long-cherished desire of the foremost of its founders to elevate the Indian race in America." The idea was not American, nor was its practical application reserved for the eighteenth century. In 1619 an unknown hand conveyed to Sir Edwin Sandys five hundred pounds, to be used by the Virginia Company for the education of Indian youths in the English language and the Christian religion. A college was contemplated, but abandoned in consequence of the Indian massacre of 1622. In 1691 part of the estate of Robert Boyle, the Christian philosopher, was given by his executors to William and Mary's College. Boyle had been the Governor of a company incorporated for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians of New England. But the interest in the conversion of the natives was chiefly confined to their residence at college, which gave material aid and comfort to their white brethren. In 1729 George Berkley came to America and settled at Newport, Rhode Island. He had the promise of aid from the Government to a college for the education of Indian youth as missionaries. The money promised was not supplied, and he returned to England, whence he made generous donations to Yale College of books and the rental of his Rhode Island farm. In 1734 Rev. John Sergeant made a practical beginning in missionary work among the Stockbridge Indians.

Eleazer Wheelock, whom Mr. Smith styles the leading founder of Dartmouth College, was born of New England parentage at Windham in 1711. He was graduated from Yale College in 1733, and ordained pastor of the Second Congregational Society in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1735, and soon became interested in the Indians, to whom, as his paying congregation were only able to pay him half his salary, he resolved to devote one-half of his time. In 1755, with some generous friends, he established a small charity school near his residence, and in 1761 received an allowance of twelve pounds each, for the education of six children of the Six Nations, from the General Court of Massachusetts.

In 1763 Wheelock's first conception of a college is found in a letter to General Amherst, the hero of the French war, in which he proposes a plan for the establishment of a college on a tract of land, fifteen or twenty miles square, on the west side of the Susquehanna river. In March, 1764, he made an appeal to the Earl of Dartmouth, whom Whitfield named the Daniel of the Age, in behalf of the Indian charity school he was then directing with such occasional aid as he could secure. At Whitfield's suggestion he sent out Samson Oocom, a Mohegan, who had been carefully trained as a school-master and preacher. Oocom preached in London "with acceptance," and was presented to

Lord Dartmouth and the King. While the feelings and sympathy of Lord Dartmouth were being enlisted in England, the support of Sir William Johnson, who exercised great influence over the Six Nation Confederacy, was also engaged, and through his agency Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk, was sent to Wheelock's Indian school. Sir William Johnson, no doubt for diplomatic reasons, opposed the plan of a school on the Susquehanna, and was averse to its establishment near the headquarters of the Six Nations. Governor Wentworth offered a tract in the western part of New Hampshire, a township six miles square.

In December, 1769, the incorporation was completed. As an evidence of the catholic spirit of the foundation, it need only be cited that three of the original trustees were nominally Episcopalians, and the remaining nine nominally Congregationalists, although some with Presbyterian tendencies. The name of Dartmouth was chosen by Dr. Wheelock without any conference with the distinguished nobleman. The Coos region in the township of Hanover, on the Connecticut river, was selected as the site, and here Dr. Wheelock built his log hut in the summer of 1770. Other plain buildings were put up, and in the late fall he, with his family and thirty students, English and Indians, all designed for the Indian service, were removed into the wilderness. Such were the modest beginnings of Dartmouth College.

Dr. Wheelock's narratives supply the best information as to the progress of the college in Indian culture. His chief reliance for pupils was on the Canadian tribes. The Mohawk tribes, the Oneidas excepted, were opposed to his plan. From 1773 to 1775 he had from sixteen to twenty-one Indian out of one hundred students. The war was a serious embarrassment to the President. He died in the midst of it on the 24th of April, 1779. The historian says of him, that "he was eminent as a scholar—he was eminent as an orator—he was eminent as a teacher—he was eminent in affairs—he was eminent as a patriot—but beyond and above all that religion was the mainspring of his entire life, the real source of all his success.

He was succeeded in the Presidency by his son, John Wheelock, during whose term of office occurred the great "Dartmouth Controversy." A difference of views as to the extent of interposition the State was entitled to in the affairs of the college, aggravated by opposing religious views, and widening during ten years of personal contact, ended in the removal of President Wheelock in 1815 by the Board of Trustees.

Next in order followed Rev. Francis Brown as President. His term of office was the period of contest between the college and the State. A political revolution in the State was its immediate result. In his message to the Legislature,

Governor Plumer in 1816 repudiated the report of the committee of the Legislature of the previous year, which announced that there was no ground for State interference in the college government, condemned the charter as savoring of monarchical ideas, and asserted the right of State supervision. This message was communicated to Jefferson, and approved by him as correct and republican in principle. The Legislature supported the Governor, the Trustees resisted, the State courts were appealed to, and the validity of the Act of the Legislature sustained, but an appeal being taken on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States, the cause was again tried. Webster appeared for the college, making one of his celebrated forensic arguments, and the Judges, Chief Justice Marshall presiding, reversed the judgment of the State court.

We cannot follow the sketch through the later administrations of Presidents Dana, Tyler, Smith and Bartlett. The reader will find in them nothing that is not creditable to Dartmouth, and will gain from the perusal of this interesting volume sufficient evidence that in the turmoil of politics and the hurry of our practical American life, our institutions of learning have maintained the dignity and independence of American culture. The book is adorned with a number of excellent photographs of the college worthies.

THE PEDIGREE AND HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY DERIVED FROM ODIN, THE FOUNDER OF SCANDINAVIA, B. C. 70. Involving a period of eighteen centuries, and including fifty-five generations down to General George Washington, First President of the United States. By ALBERT WELLES. Royal 8vo, pp. 370. SOCIETY LIBRARY. New York, 1879.

The introduction of this inquiry was noticed in the last number of the Magazine [III. 526] from advanced sheets. The volume is now before us. In addition to the extended pedigree, the value of which must be decided by those who have made a study of this branch of historical investigation, there is an appendix, containing what the editor calls scraps of history in regard to members found in the descent from Odin.

Scattered through the volume will be found numerous items of interest connected with the personal history of the English and American Washingtons, and a great variety of illustrations, consisting of an illumination of the arms of Washington and impressions from a great variety of known plates here for the first time brought together. The book is printed in the best manner, and forms a valuable addition to Washington literature.

It was not until the year 1792 that Washington began to make inquiries as to his English ancestry. He then addressed a letter to Garter King at Arms, the reply to which has been shown to us by Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, the widow of Lewis W. Washington. In this letter he mentions the marriage of Lawrence Washington, of Soulgrave, in the County of Northampton, Esquire, and Margaret, daughter of William Butler of Sussex, and adds that some years before an American gentleman had shown him a "Seal with the Arms of Butler engraved thereon," which he told him had been received from General Washington. The remaining information we are not at liberty to use, but it is soon to be made public by the owner of the letter in question.

GENEALOGY OF THE TILLEY FAMILY.

Compiled by H. HAMMETT TILLEY. 8vo., pp. 79. JOHN P. SANBORN, Newport, R. I., 1878.

This is a record of the family of William Tilley, who emigrated to America from England about the year 1660, and settled in Boston in that year. He was by occupation a rope-maker, and is said to have been the second in that trade, the business of rope-making having been set up in Boston by one John Harrison about 1641. The Tilleys were good people, even in that early day the widow of the rope-maker marrying Judge Sewall in 1718. Encouraged in his business, the rope-maker sent to England for three of his cousins, William, John and James, who came over at his call, and after a short stay in Boston, settled respectively, William in Newport, John in New York, and James in New London. The volume before us gives, first, a careful record of the descendants of William, of Newport; second, of those of the second brother John, in New York, in whose line was the Honorable Samuel Leonard Tilley, late the urbane and accomplished Lieutenant-Governor of the Dominion of Canada. Of the third brother, James, of New London, the record is brief and incomplete.

The name of Tilley is supposed to be French. It is found on the roll of the companies of William the Conqueror. A plate of the arms of the English family prefaces the genealogy.

CHARLTON (MASS.) HISTORICAL SKETCHES. Rev. ANSON TITUS, Jr. Reprinted from the Southbridge Journal. 8vo. pp. 28. Southbridge, 1877.

There is not much to interest the antiquary in this town sketch. The hard-working people did not leave much behind them. The earliest recorded burial is not earlier than 1744. The cemeteries which are described are nearly all of the present century.

ON THE ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS. By AD. F. BANDELIER. Reprinted from the Tenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum. 8vo. Cambridge, 1877.

From the pages of this excellent pamphlet we learn that although the Mexicans proper, better known as the Aztecs, were of the highest order of sedentary Indians, still warfare, and not agriculture, was their chief occupation. Spreading from their lake center, they lived upon the produce and industrial resources of subjected tribes. So completely was their time engaged in defensive, if not offensive war with their neighbors, upon whom they lived, that if there were no war they considered themselves idle. Like the Spartans, they were trained to arms from infancy, and the standing army included every able-bodied man in the tribe. Yet, strange to say, while the fear of the latent power of the tribe was equal to its domination over the conquered tribes, somewhat as the Mohawks over their neighbors, yet when Cortes made his daring seizure of Montezuma, there was no organized body of guards to protect his person. The defensive armor of the Mexicans, their aggressive weapons, the organization of their forces, and their mode of operations in the field are all carefully described, and the authorities given for every statement; the whole a model of archaeological research. The final pages narrate the manner of the battle of Otumpau, fought on the 8th July, 1520, between Cortes and the pueblo of Tlaxcallan, the day of skirmish, the ambush on the plains of Apan, from which the Spaniards cut their way with the courage of despair, and the process of dismemberment, by which Cortes overcame the Nahuatl Confederacy of the Valley of Mexico. The story closes with the siege of the pueblo of Mexico, which illustrates Indian defensive warfare in its highest stage; their resistance standing unparalleled in the history of Indian warfare, and their fortitude and tenacity demonstrating that they acted together by free common consent, and were organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free military democracy.

A GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF DR. ARTEMAS BULLARD, OF SUTTON, AND HIS DESCENDANTS. By WILLIAM SUMNER BARTON, of Worcester. 8vo, pp. 22. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester, 1878.

The writer informs us that in the genealogical history of the "Descendants of several ancient Puritans," published by Rev. Abner Morse in 1857, there is an interesting account of the Bullard families in New England. Among the first

planters of New England there appear to have been four of the name, who emigrated about 1630 from England, and were of the first settlers of Watertown. Robert was unquestionably the ancestor of the Sutton family of the name, which particularly engages Mr. Barton's attention in this monograph.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS UPON THE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF MORTON MCMICHAEL AS EDITOR, PUBLIC OFFICER, AND CITIZEN. By JOHN W. FORNEY, Thursday, April 17, 1879. 8vo, pp. 16. SHERMAN & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

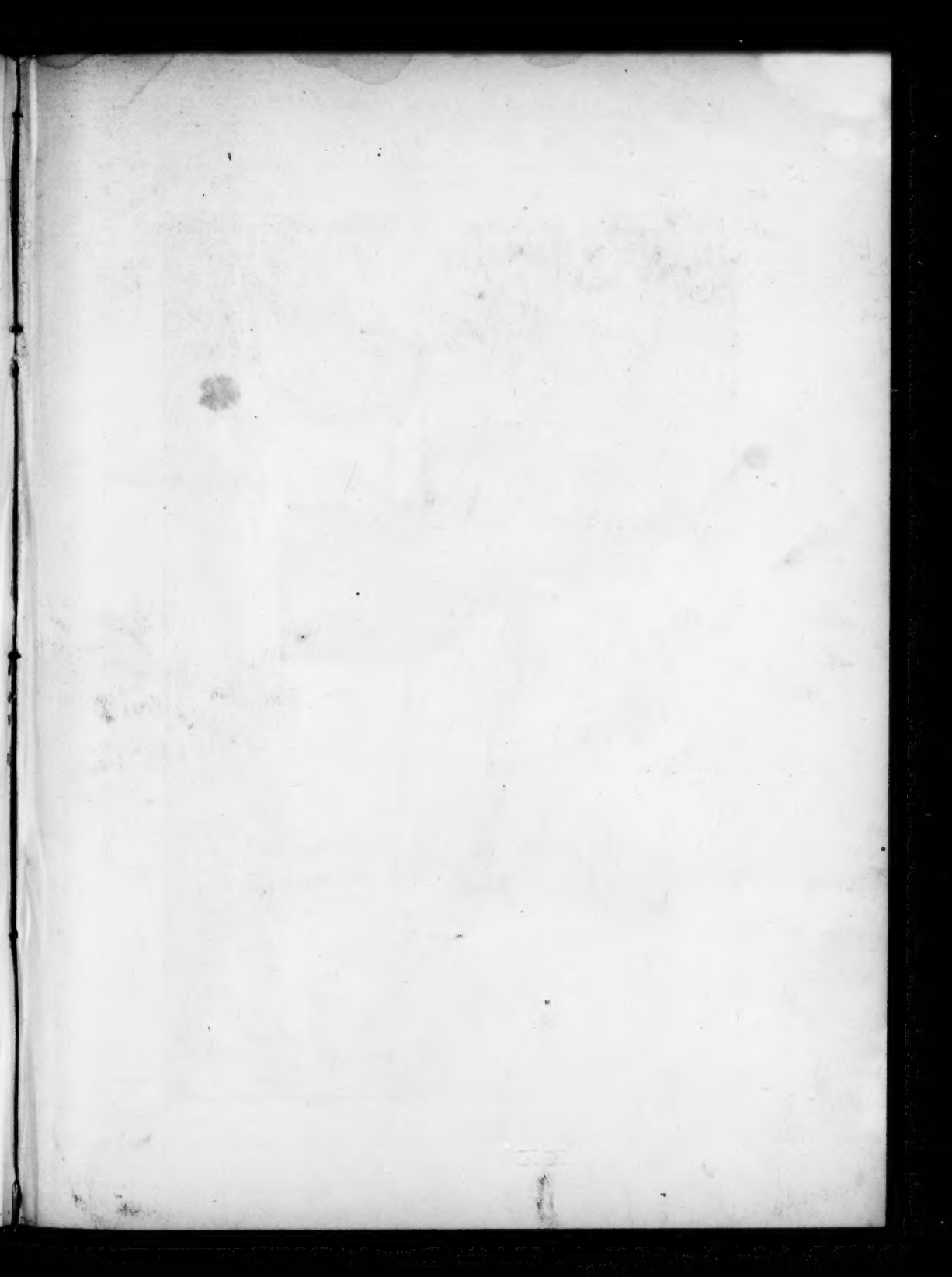
Tacitus said of Agricola that he was happy in the occasion of his death. So it may be said of any man, the occasion of whose death calls into action the warm heart and accomplished hand of Mr. Forney to do honor his memory. McMichael was a noble character; full of generous impulses, vigorous, intelligent, in every sense a man; a leader of men. To all these characteristics full justice is rendered, and with the fervor of a friendship of nearly half a century.

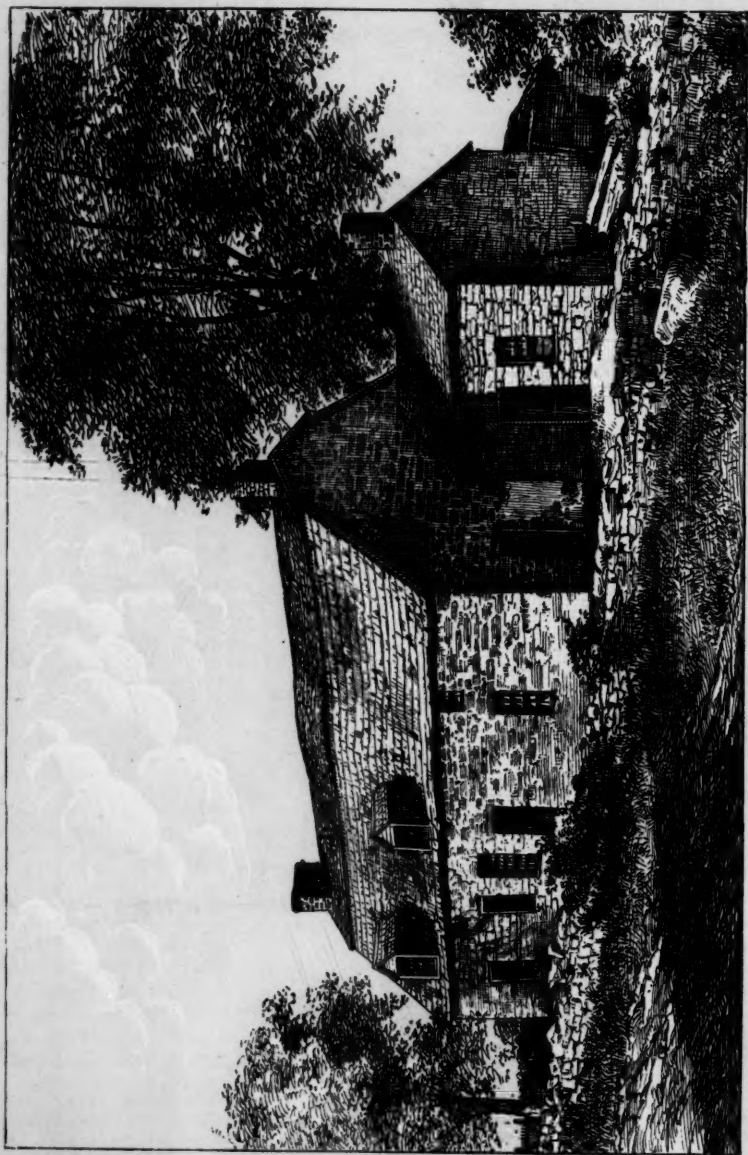
FAMILY RECORD OF SILAS BROWN, JR. By A. C. BROWN. 8vo, pp. 38. Printed by GEORGE MACNAMARA, New York, 1879.

Silas Brown, Jr., a record of whose descendants is here given, was the eldest son of Silas Brown, Jr., who was at one time in Captain Jonathan Wate's company in Colonel Ezra Meigs' regiment, and took part in the Saratoga campaign. Silas Brown was the son of John Brown, who is surmised by the genealogist to have been the son of James Brown, of Deerfield. Nothing more is known of him than that he resided in Hatfield in 1669, married Remembrance Brooks at Springfield in 1674, removed to Deerfield about 1683, and went thence to Colchester, Connecticut.

A RECORD OF REMARKABLE EVENTS IN MARLBOROUGH AND VICINITY. By CYRUS FELTON. 8vo, pp. 24, No. 1. STILLMAN B. PRATT, Marlborough, Mass., 1879.

A second title informs the reader that within the limits of these pages there is presented a record of four hundred and fifty events, consisting of accidents, balls, celebrations, dedications, exhibitions, fires, gifts, holidays, incidents, jubilees, knacks, lectures, musters, necrologies, ordinations, picnics, quarrels, raisings, shows, tornadoes, undertakings, vendues, weather extremes, years, zero days, etc. These are arranged by months and days, thus: January events, February events, etc.





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CIVIL STATUS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

AMONG the questions in debate, under the colonial system of England before the American Revolution, one of the most embarrassing was that touching the relation of the various ecclesiastical bodies, existing in the colonies, to the State. That "remarkable variety and indistinctness of opinion," which prevailed both in Britain and in America, concerning the precise nature of the political bond which united the two countries, extended beyond the sphere of secular interests into that of religion. Indeed it is only within a few years that a solution for the same problem has been found in countries that have retained their connection with Great Britain to the present day. In the colonial time, and in the province of New York, it was a question surrounded with peculiar difficulties, and here, perhaps more than in any other American province, it was productive of serious trouble. Elsewhere the type of religious belief prevailing among the settlers determined the question, so far as it could be determined through the action of colonial legislatures. In Virginia and in Carolina, where the majority of the population adhered to the Church of England, that Church was established by colonial law. The Congregational order prevailed in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, and was recognized and enforced by the civil power. New York, throughout the colonial period, was distinctively a Presbyterian province. What position belonged of right to the Presbyterian churches in this province, and how actually they stood related to the State—these are the points to be noticed in the present paper.

The period under consideration may be divided approximately into two terms of about seventy-five years each—the one term lying in the seventeenth century, and the other in the eighteenth. From the year 1623, when the permanent colonization of the province was commenced,